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THE
ANDOVER REVIEW

A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL
MONTHLY

VOL. V.—JANUARY—JUNE.—1886

EDITORS

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HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY

New York: 11 East Seventeenth Street

The Riverside Press, Cambridge

1886

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The Riverside Press, Cambridge:
Electrotyped and Printed by H. O. Houghton & Co.

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THE ANDOVER REVIEW:

A Monthly Magazine of Religion, Theology, Social Science, and Literature.

EDITED BY

EGBERT C. SMYTH, WILLIAM J. TUCKER, J. W. CHURCHILL,
GEORGE HARRIS, EDWARD Y. HINCKS,

*Professors in Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass., with the
coöperation and active support of their colleagues in the Faculty,
Professors JOHN P. GULLIVER, JOHN PHELPS TAYLOR,
GEORGE F. MOORE, and FRANK E. WOODRUFF.*

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The Site of Calvary. *Selah Merrill, D. D., LL. D., Consul at Jerusalem.*

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THE ANDOVER REVIEW.

NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

The Andover Review for November opens with a paper on "The New Education," by Professor Palmer, of Harvard, which is a vigorous defense. It is to be followed in the succeeding numbers with further discussions by other teachers. This is putting a review to good service. The editorial work is full, rich, and spicy as usual. — *The Independent* (New York).

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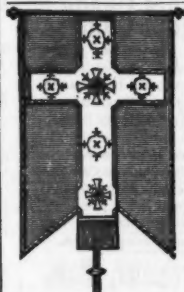
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VOL. V.—JANUARY, 1886.—No. XXV.

EDUCATION, NEW AND OLD.¹

THERE are few things more astonishing than the rapidity and apparent ease with which periods of conservative thinking and practice are sometimes followed by great and even radical changes. Opinions which have long been regarded as having the necessary quality of rational principles are at such times contested and discarded; practices that have come to be associated with sacred ideas of duty and of religion are deemed unreasonable and are abandoned. Indeed, in this generation and land of ours, such great and radical changes have become so frequent as almost to fail of exciting the astonishment they really merit. Moreover, there are few subjects—at least among those concerning which the world has commonly been supposed to have settled conclusions on the basis of a sufficient experience—that are just now in a more precarious condition than that of education. For tens of centuries the so-called civilized world has discussed and practiced touching the question how best to train the young. For a less number of centuries a considerable part of the civilized world has been much at its ease in the gratifying belief that it was answering the question wisely. But now the New Education, as brought to our notice afresh by Professor Palmer's article in the November number of this Review, claims to have made beyond doubt the discovery that the answer hitherto practically given must be almost completely reversed. The language used by the article alluded to is not a bit too strong to express the completeness of the proposed

¹ This article continues the discussion opened by Professor Palmer. The number containing his paper will be sent to new subscribers who may desire to receive it. It can also be obtained by forwarding thirty cents to the publishers. The discussion will be continued in further contributions to the Review from eminent teachers.—EDS.

reversal. The New Education has avowedly thrown away an "established principle;" has organized a college "from the top almost to the bottom on a wholly different plan;" has wrought "a revolution like that in the England of Victoria."

It would be an error to suppose, however, that even so revolutionary a change in education should be denied fair consideration, on the ground that what seems to contradict a well-nigh universal experience cannot, of course, be wise and true. If the New Education should finally come to have matters according to its liking in all our educational institutions, such a change of custom would not be wholly without a parallel in the history of the subject. It would perhaps not be greater than the change which took place in the culture of Greek youth when the Sophists captivated them all by adding rhetoric and dialectic to the ancient disciplines of music, mathematics, and gymnastics. Nor can it be wholly forgotten that the ancient classics only a few centuries since turned out much of the theology and metaphysics from the universities of Europe, in order to make a place for themselves as the *new* learning of the day. The truth is, that poetry, mathematics, and philosophy are about the only branches of human knowledge that have everywhere and in all times been regarded as studies indispensable to what the civilized world has agreed to call culture. Yet these are perhaps the studies which are at present least prized of all by that class of youth who are fired with the ambition to choose wholly for themselves a training suited to the so-called "practical life" of business, politics, journalism, etc.

Accordingly, we are not among those who, when startling new views are proposed in opposition to ancient convictions and customs, refuse to tolerate the possibility of such views being largely or mainly trustworthy. But, on the other hand, the advocates of the New Education can scarcely expect, in the exercise of fairness and good judgment, that a scheme which they admit to be no less than "revolutionary" should be hastily caught at for its novelty by thoughtful educators. Professor Palmer's description of the Harvard method calls upon us all to discard many cherished convictions; we may justly expect it to enforce its call with many and valid reasons. It asks for a large faith; we may ask of it some assured pledge that the faith will not be misplaced. It seems to me, then, that little fault could be found with any educator of youth, whose mind worked in a moderately conservative fashion, if he should decline to estimate highly the detailed facts which make up the very limited experience of the New Education. In

other words, I do not think that the trial of the Harvard method is yet old enough to be critically weighed and pronounced upon. It is true that the elective system was adopted there, to a certain small extent, as long ago as 1825. But until 1879 "some prescribed study remained" for juniors; till 1884 for sophomores. During only a single year have freshmen in Harvard College chosen a majority of their own studies. But it is precisely to making *all* of the last two years of the college course elective, and to giving *any* considerable play to the elective system in the earlier years, that the opponents of the Harvard method have most decided objections. For it by no means follows that, because *some* choice of his own studies is good for the young man of twenty-one or twenty-two years, therefore the *entire* control of his studies should be committed to the boy from eighteen to twenty. As to whether it is wise that freshmen and sophomores should be placed completely under the elective system, Harvard itself has, then, barely two years of experience; and for the upper classes only a few years more. No graduates of the New Education have yet gone out into the world. But it will surely take more than one whole generation to prove what the real and final outcome of so profound changes in education is to be. Is it ungenerous toward progress when we declare that the experience of a single educational institution for scarcely a moiety of its four years' course — whatever that experience may have been — is a very inadequate proof of the desirableness of a "revolution" in education? We cannot sample the orchard by chewing the blossoms of a single tree.

Let it not be supposed, however, that there is reason to shrink from the detailed examination of the statistics with which Professor Palmer has argued the cause of the New Education. For one, I heartily thank him for them. They are so clearly and fairly presented, and so courteously urged, that nothing more in that direction can be for the present demanded. I am especially glad to have the affair of passing his article in critical review take so tangible a shape. It gives me a coveted opportunity to bring forward corresponding statistics which have *not* been formed under the influence of the Harvard method. It thus becomes a task definitely set me by the editors of the "Andover Review" to compare one college with another. I need not apologize, to remove any of that odium which almost inevitably attaches itself to such work of comparison. The question of fact is raised by the previous article commending the so-called New Education: How

does it work? What better way to answer the question thus raised than to compare the tabulated results (so far as such results can be tabulated) of the new method with those reached by a somewhat different method? I select Yale to compare with Harvard, as a matter of course, for I am a teacher at Yale, and can most easily obtain trustworthy statistics concerning educational affairs in my own college. Moreover, there is a certain fitness in comparing these two great institutions. Harvard is avowedly the only thorough representative of what Professor Palmer calls the New Education; Yale is certainly the leading representative of those more conservative tendencies in education to which what is called "new" is understood to be opposed. I shall, therefore, follow his argument from experience, point by point, showing how the results of experience here compare with those obtained at Harvard under its new method.

Before bringing forward statistics, and thus putting myself into the attitude of an antagonist or carping critic toward Professor Palmer, I crave the opportunity of expressing my sympathy and agreement with him on several important points. It is true that the world of science and learning has changed and enlarged with wonderful rapidity of late. It is, of course, also true that both the matter and the method of education must change accordingly. The literary communication of nations is now such that no man can be the most successful student of any subject who is not able to use at least two or three of those languages in which the results of modern researches are chiefly recorded. The ancient classics can never again hold the same relatively great or exclusive place in the study of language, or as mental discipline. The new science, psychological and political, no less than physical, will certainly have its rights regarded. The subject-matter of education must change. It is also true that methods of education must change. The modern teacher stands in a different relation to his pupils from that held by the teacher of bygone days. He has a larger work than that of giving out tasks; he must rely on something more in his hearers than their reverence for his *ex-officio* dignity and their readiness to accept his *ipse dixit*. He must also stand in relations towards his pupils that are different from those which formerly obtained with respect to their discipline in manners and morals.

But it is simple matter of fact that all our most respectable educational institutions are recognizing the facts and truths to which I have just alluded, and are recognizing them in practical

ways. Surely no most excessive admirer of Harvard and its methods would think of denying that other colleges also have made a large place for the new sciences, are using improved ways of instruction with fresh enthusiasm on the part of both teachers and pupils, and have their eyes and hearts open to all that is going on in the wide world of science and learning. No one acquainted with Yale at present, as compared with Yale fifty or even twenty-five years since, could for a moment doubt that much of its education is worthy of being called "*new*."

With the ethical spirit of Professor Palmer's article I am also in the fullest accord; he meets a hearty response from the Yale method when he proposes to measure the success of education by standards that are strong and high in an ethical way. I, too, understand the end of education to be not merely information in certain subjects—few or many—of scientific or historical research, but, also and chiefly, control of the faculties, and vigorous, reasonable, symmetrical use of them for the attainment of worthy ideals. And if he will show me that the so-called New Education really does "uplift character as no other training can, and through influence on character ennoble all methods of teaching and discipline," I will not wait to be his ardent convert. It is precisely because of my fears that it will not accomplish this in the majority of cases that I am reluctant to accept the methods it proposes. But Professor Palmer advances the statistical proofs that in very truth the method has already wrought to this desirable and noble end at Harvard. We are brought around then to his statistics in our effort to come into the fullest possible sympathy of view with his opinions. Do the statistics show, or even tend to show, the superiority of the method of education in force at Harvard, as compared with that still employed at Yale? I am prepared to affirm that they do not. I am prepared to affirm that, in all the matters which can fairly be said to be direct desirable results of the methods of teaching employed by the two institutions, the figures speak rather *against* than for the New Education. The various items of proof will be arranged for consideration in the order which seems most convenient, but all the points made by Professor Palmer will be covered before leaving the subject.

Among the various proofs of experience that the New Education is successful we find the enlargement and improvement of the prevalent student idea of a "gentleman." Students are proverbially influenced by consideration for "good form." It is no longer "good form" at Harvard to haze freshmen, smash win-

dows, disturb lecture-rooms, etc. Such things as these are largely, if not wholly, at an end. Now the growth away from barbarous and rowdyish customs has characterized all the colleges of the land, — some of them to a greater, some to a less degree. A marked improvement in these regards has gone on at Yale, until the more offensive forms of such misbehavior are matters of tradition and of the past. It could be shown by all the testimony possible to obtain on such a point that both the major and the minor morals of the students have steadily improved for the last twenty-five or more years. The relations between the Faculty and the students, instead of the old feeling of antagonism or division of interest, are cordial and tending to more and more of friendliness and co-operative work. This is perfectly well understood by the students themselves; it is remarked upon in their conversation and in the papers which they publish. But I should not for a moment suppose that the same kind of improvement had not taken place — at least to some considerable degree — in other institutions of learning; nor should I venture to attribute it largely to any peculiar method of education, either as partly elective or as largely prescribed. Such improvement is chiefly the result of the steady change in our civilization which has been going on, of better manners everywhere, of the gradual decay of barbarous and mediæval antagonisms, of the spread of kindliness and intelligence. It is also due, in special, to the fact that teachers and parents take a different attitude toward the young under their charge, and that the young themselves have a wider outlook on life. It is also due to the fact that college Faculties have relaxed in many of their old severities and petty exactions, and have taken the young men — whether by some scheme devised or by the common consent of all hearts and wills — more into their confidence. It is also due to the influence of well-regulated athletic sports which provide an outlet for the expenditure of that surplus vitality in which youth rejoices. The New Education has no monopoly in these improvements. Nor do I believe that it can show any advantage in these matters as compared with that blending of things new and old which is prevalent at Yale.

It is also claimed that the New Education has the stamp of approval in the special amount of popular favor which it has secured. It is shown that the period during which the new method has been on trial has been one of "unexampled prosperity" for Harvard, its representative. Rich men have signified their acceptance of it by generous gifts. Parents and sons have ratified

the system, as may be seen by the increase of numbers which has taken place under its working. There can be no doubt that the last fifteen years exhibit a splendid record of growth at Harvard, both in numbers and in resources. But it will scarcely be claimed by Professor Palmer that all the generous gifts it has received have been designed to set the seal of approval from their donors upon its peculiar methods. Other sums of money, even larger, have been given to found and rear institutions by rich men who had no ideas, either new or old, which they desired to perpetuate in a peculiar college system. Other colleges which have not adopted the Harvard system — except so far as some elective courses in a college curriculum may be said to be an adoption of the system — have also received bountiful gifts. During the last fourteen years the amount of gifts made to the university of Yale, either already delivered over or in the process of delivery by executors, exceed \$2,066,000; of this sum \$928,400 stands upon the treasurer's books as cash paid in to the treasury since 1871; the remainder has gone into the "plant" of the university. During the same time the sum of more than \$460,000 additional has been secured by bequest, to be paid into its treasury on the termination of certain lives. Meanwhile, its library has increased by 83,000 volumes. This more than two and a half millions may not, indeed, equal the sum given to Harvard during the same period. But it bears comparison with that sum so well as to raise the inquiry whether the prestige of the New Education with the long purses of the country is beyond question.

The increase of students is a more direct and appreciable argument. It certainly does go for something in showing how the popular favor is setting, at least for the immediate time. I can readily see how young men of eighteen, if left to themselves, would incline to give the authority of their presence to the methods of the New Education. Still, it is by no means certain that the large accessions to Harvard for the past twenty-five years signify all that they might seem to at first sight. During the same period other institutions, not adopting its method, have likewise had remarkable growth; on other grounds than its adoption Yale has constantly grown in numbers during this period. Its growth as estimated by the average number of undergraduates, exclusive of special students (which I suppose Professor Palmer also excluded from his estimate), has been as follows: 1861-65, 533; 1866-70, 610; 1871-75, 704; 1876-80, 745; 1880-84, 792. It should also be said that probably no other college has rejected so

large a per cent. of candidates for admission, or sent away so many for failing to keep up to its standard of scholarship.

Even the most recent statistics throw still more doubt upon the argument from the number of students. It is found, by counting the undergraduates in the last Harvard catalogue, that 591 of the 1061, or more than 55 per cent., are from the State in which the college is situated. Only 247, or less than 32 per cent., of the undergraduates of Yale are from Connecticut. Not only relatively but absolutely more men come to the latter than to the former institution from outside of the State in which it is situated. If then Massachusetts may be said to sanction the New Education, as yet the country at large cannot be said to have done so. It is not yet cosmopolitan.

But we shall better appreciate the statistical argument for and against the New Education if we compare figures concerning matters that may more fairly be held to indicate its direct results; and among them, first, the amount of regular attention given by the students to the college exercises, to lectures and recitations. Professor Palmer thinks it creditable to the method he advocates that, by actual count, under a wholly voluntary and wholly elective system, the last senior class at Harvard "had cared to stay away" only two exercises per week out of twelve, — that is, rather more than sixteen per cent. of the whole. Now the point of fidelity and regularity is of such supreme importance in the life of the student that I have taken especial pains to secure its statistics here; the reader is requested thoughtfully to compare them with the statement of Professor Palmer. At Yale this term, for the seven weeks for which the record is complete, the average per cent. of absence in the class of '89 has been 3.7 per cent.; that is, the average freshman of the Academical Department has been present 15.4 out of a possible 16 of his weekly recitations. This record includes absences from all causes whatever; it includes 48 absences due to the illness of one man for three weeks, and several other cases of absence due to illness of the student or of his friends. The record of the sophomore class for the same period is even slightly better; for the average sophomore has attended 14.5 exercises per week out of a possible 15 required. The absences of this class have been only slightly more than three and a third per cent. It should further be mentioned that under the rules all tardiness at a recitation beyond five minutes and all egresses are counted as absences. Moreover, if the student chooses to be present without responsibility for being questioned,

he has the privilege of doing so at the expense of one of his "allowed" absences. In the aggregate a considerable number avail themselves of this privilege. For an example of diligent attention to the business of learning, I think it would be hard to find anything superior to the following: On a recent week (in November) there were only eight absences in a division of 34 men, and three of these were so-called "cuts," when the student was present but not reciting. That is to say, the real absences were for that one division during the period of a week only a trifle over one per cent. It should be remembered, also, that no excuses are now given for sports, attentions to friends, minor ailments, etc.; and yet the average Yale freshman or sophomore does not avail himself of more than about three fourths of the six absences allowed him during a term to cover all such cases. Nor should it be inferred that the regularity of these seven weeks is special to any large extent, as being due to causes prevalent during the earlier part of the fall term of 1885. It is likely that the record for the entire term would make even a better showing; the spendthrifts who incur most absences on the whole, as a rule, use up their "cuts" early in the term. The officer in charge of the records assures me that, on looking over them cursorily, he concludes that the worst terms for some years past would not show more than five per cent. of absences in these classes. The amount of absence in the two upper classes is somewhat greater. There is good reason for this. The junior and senior classes contain more men who are of age, who therefore go home to vote, have private business out of New Haven to which they must attend, etc. Under the rules of the college they are also given one third more of "allowed absences" than the lower classes, — that is to say, eight in a term instead of six. But for all causes combined, exclusive of a few cases of sickness lasting more than a week, the irregularity of the junior class during the period under consideration was less than five and a half per cent.; that of the senior class only a trifle more than six per cent.

A comparison of the two systems as actually at work in Harvard and in Yale shows, then, this remarkable fact: The irregularity of the average Harvard student is from a little less than three to about five times as great as that of the average Yale student. The former is off duty, either from choice or compulsion, rather more than sixteen per cent. of his time; the latter from less than three and a third to a trifle more than six per cent. Such discrepancy is remarkable. In my opinion, it is highly sig-

nificant as respects the working of the two systems. Let the reader inquire of himself what its significance must be as regards preparation, both intellectual and ethical, for the work of life. Let any man in business or in professional life ask himself this question: What sort of work should I do, what success have, if I and my employees were absent sixteen per cent. of the entire time allotted for work? More particularly with reference to the life of education, let each one interested in the problem propose such questions as follow: What service would the public school or academy render which permitted an average non-attendance of its pupils amounting to sixteen per cent. of the entire time; or, in other words, reduced the school-days of the week to about four in number? Is there any adequate reason why a youth who is being trained to a life of faithful and patient work should, for a term of four years in the most critical period of his life, enjoy a freedom from restraints which belongs to the well-regulated discipline of neither man nor boy? The average pupil under the New Education, if he has been properly fitted for college, has probably had no such liberty allowed him hitherto; unless he leads after leaving college a life of self-indulgence instead of successful industry, he will never have such liberty again. Is there any magic of morals which makes it best that he should for this particular quaternion be put "upon honor" in a manner different from that to which the rest of the working world is compelled? But it is at best the *average* man at Harvard who is off duty sixteen per cent. of his time; what, then, must be the amount of irregularity characterizing the more faithless half or quarter of each class?

I have no hesitation whatever in saying that it would be quite impossible for students to pass through Yale College who did not attend more regularly to their duties than the average senior under the New Education. Such students probably could not finish a single year. It must not be supposed, however, that attendance is exacted of the Yale student in such manner as to crush out all spontaneity of impulse, and make both recitation-room and teacher repulsive. Doubtless there is a considerable percentage of men in every college who find all mental work a hardship; with a few, the more and the more regular the work the greater their sense of hardship. But with the body of students at Yale the case is not so. Their spirit will compare most favorably with that which Professor Palmer describes as characteristic of the New Education. That they are not merely driven by severe rules to their tasks is shown by the fact that, as I have already said, the

average Yale student does not avail himself of all his allowed absences. It is also shown by the fact that a considerable percentage of men, especially in the upper classes, are ready to take over-hours of work; this in spite of the fact that the required number of recitations at Yale is fifteen (or sixteen) per week, instead of twelve as at Harvard. It is further shown by the large use which the students make of the libraries. On this point, then, let us compare facts with the New Education. Professor Palmer considers it a triumph for "the system" that the extent to which the college library is consulted by the undergraduates has increased from fifty-six per cent. in 1860-61 to eighty-five per cent. in 1883-84. But for years past the average Yale student, so far as the statistics of the respective libraries show, has been more a reader of books than his Harvard fellow under the present high estate reached by the New Education. During the year selected for comparison (1883-84) the undergraduates of Yale drew from "Linonian and Brothers" alone 18,440 volumes; all but 76 — or eighty-eight per cent. — of the academical students and all but 38 — or eighty-two per cent. — of the scientific students used this collection of books. More than eighty-six per cent., that is, of all the undergraduates drew out to the average amount of 26 volumes each. As to the quality of the books drawn, no record is easily obtainable for this particular year; but the record for a previous year shows that more than two thirds were *not* books of fiction. Statistics just published for the last year show that the academical sophomores alone drew 4,139 volumes from this library; but the sophomores at Yale are denied all benefit from the New Education. The use of Linonian and Brothers' Library by the undergraduates, however, has been relatively decreasing, on account of the large increase in the use of other collections of books more recently placed at their convenient disposal. Noteworthy among such collections are the loan libraries belonging to some of the departments of instruction, — especially of political science, history, etc. Add to all these items the increasing use, by consultation on the spot and otherwise (of which statistics are not easily attainable), of the main college library, and we have an amount of voluntary literary activity among the Yale undergraduates which certainly need not shrink from comparison with the best results of the Harvard system.

Professor Palmer says truly that "the charge of 'soft' courses is the stock objection to the elective system." He is, therefore, at considerable pains to show how wisely the juniors and seniors on

the whole make their choices, and with no predominating disposition to shirk hard work. I regret that we are not told more particularly just how the lower classes exercise their option. For it is as to the lower classes that our main contention exists. In order to make his case good, it must be shown that boys of eighteen and nineteen, on entering college without a knowledge of what their pursuits in life will be or of what in reality most of the studies before them mean, are competent to compose the entire subject-matter of their own instruction. On my part, I am prepared to affirm that for wise choice of elective courses far more maturity of judgment and knowledge of various subjects than belong to the American youth at such a time in his life are highly desirable, if not imperatively necessary. So far as I can judge, the choices of the Yale juniors and seniors show more taste for hard work than is developed under the new system. It is noticeable that no course in the classics or higher mathematics is set down as being a favorite with the two upper classes at Harvard in 1883-84. But 54 juniors and 181 seniors are reported as having taken courses in "Fine Arts" for the present year. At Yale this term, however, 53 choices of courses in higher mathematics (calculus, vector analysis, etc.) have been made by juniors and seniors, and 179 choices in the ancient classics, 99 in Latin, and 80 in Greek, by the same classes. (I give the number of choices rather than of men, as indicating better the amount of interest taken in a given subject.) It should be remembered, also, that each of these choices involves responsibility for the performance of a daily task, as distinguished from cramming for an examination. I am unable to say that the Harvard system has no statistics to match these. But I have a pretty firm conviction that students who have been kept regularly at hard work in prescribed courses for the first two years of a college course will be far more likely to enjoy hard work in the later years of that course.

The last remark would, of course, hold true only in case the standard of scholarship were kept well up, and the instruction made bracing and attractive. I am therefore led to examine briefly two other excellences which Professor Palmer ascribes to the New Education. It is, he thinks, steadily raising the rank which is reckoned "decent scholarship." This is apparently proved by a comparative statement of the "marks" received by the average Harvard student in the different classes for the different years since 1874-75. I will say frankly, but without intend-

ing to cast the least shadow of question over the sincerity with which the proof is offered, that I find myself unable to confide in it. I should not think of trying to compare the statistics of the *marks* given under any two systems; or even — for that matter — under different decades of the same system. The marks of the average student are, of course, higher under the elective system. One reason is to be found in the fact that so many students choose their electives with reference to the marks they expect to attain under the chosen instructor. The teacher, as well as the pupil, is known by his marks. And it is more of a test of a pupil's real merits, *under the elective system*, to inquire how many courses he takes under teachers that give hard work and low marks than how high a mark he is able to attain by judiciously choosing his courses. Under a system of study largely prescribed, the various eccentricities of the instructors in marking nearly cancel each other. But under a system wholly elective the comparative statistics of the marks are quite worthless to indicate the grade of real scholarship secured.

I feel some hesitation about extending my comparisons so as to cover one of the points which Professor Palmer has made. He testifies to the improvement which the New Education has wrought in the spirit and work of the instructors themselves. His testimony is, of course, to be accepted as conclusive upon this point. I should be very loth to admit, however, that the kind of spirit and method which he justly considers admirable in the teacher are inseparably connected with the system in vogue at Harvard. It seems to me that a teacher who suffers himself to grow dull and slack because his pupils must come to him whether or no is scarcely fit to be a teacher under any so-called system. Certainly there have been not a few inspiring instructors in our American colleges before the New Education was discovered. Is it at all likely that there will be only a few poor ones in case the triumph of the New Education is everywhere secured? Is it not even possible that certain methods of instruction may in time be developed by a system that makes so much depend upon the favor of those instructed which will not conduce to the highest efficiency in education?

A word of personal experience will be in place at this point. I cannot follow Professor Palmer, who looks back upon his college days and feels that more than half his studies should have been different. The studies in my college curriculum were wholly prescribed; they included the ancient classics in junior year, and

calculus, both integral and differential. Like him, I was especially fond of Greek and philosophy; but I studied calculus with more carefulness on that very account. I learned to do patiently the things set me to do; to work hard and wait for the reward; to conquer every task — whatever it might be — before leaving it. And I would not give this bit of learning for all to be 'got from the most attractive elective courses of both Harvard and Yale.

But it is full time to recall thought to the real matter of disagreement between Professor Palmer and myself. Toward the close of his article we find the remark that, for lack of room, he cannot explain at length "why the elective system should be begun as early as the freshman year;" it is added, "surely not much room is needed." But, as I understand the matter, this is precisely what requires most room, both for explanation and for argument. In common with most colleges, Yale now permits considerable choice in the last two years of its curriculum; the elective courses now constitute eight fifteenths of the junior year, and four fifths of the senior. No choice, with the exception of one, between French and German, is permitted in the first two years. Now, of course, the question is entirely reasonable to ask of one who, like myself, approves heartily of so much of the elective system, Why not accept it throughout in the form adopted by Harvard? Why draw the line between sophomore and junior years rather than between freshman year in college and the last year in the fitting-school? Why prescribe any courses for the last two years in preference to giving the student full range for the exercise of his preferences? The reply to these questions might be given with almost indefinite details. This whole question, like nearly all those questions which most perplex our human life, is one of drawing lines and making distinctions. Probably all will admit that lines must be drawn somewhere. There comes a time, that is to say, when the boy may be left more and more to direct himself, — as in other matters, so in the subject-matter of his education. But for years the boy, in order to learn how to study and how to make right choice of what he will study, must be kept in prescribed lines. Infants cannot decide whether they will learn to read or not. Small boys cannot be left wholly to decide whether they will study grammar and arithmetic. Older boys and youths and young men, whatever they undertake in the education of themselves, find a great fund of previous experience and established custom hemming them in and restricting their perfectly free choice. The average college freshman ought not to desire, and

he is not capable of exercising, such choice in so grave a problem as that of determining all the further subject-matter of his education.

In the matter of assuming full political rights and privileges the State requires the youth to have reached the age of twenty-one. I do not suppose that there is anything magical about this particular number. Some young men would be ready for suffrage earlier; some men are never really ready for it. But a line must be drawn somewhere. And certainly, after the youth has spent two years in the drill of college life, he is much better fitted than when he enters for exercising his choices in respect to the rest of his education; but then only in a limited way. Professor Palmer, however, thinks it almost self-evident that when the boy leaves home, at about eighteen years of age, is the best time for him to begin to say what he will study; and that, all at once, and from that time onward, he should have the entire say. It seems to me that the very fact of the new surroundings with which college life begins is an argument the other way. After the youth has developed awhile in his new surroundings, has adjusted himself to them, has learned from experience in them how matters pertaining to study go, and what the different courses opening before him are, then, and not till then, should he be summoned to the grave task of deciding. It is better, too, that he should be introduced gradually to the responsibilities of deciding. A headlong plunge into freedom is not a real good. Moreover, I am one of those who still believe that an educated man should be trained to some good degree in each of the five great branches of human knowledge, — in mathematics; in language, including literature; in physical science; in the history of his race; in philosophy, or the knowledge of mind in its relations to all else. It is, then, precisely because I do not believe that the New Education draws its lines in the right place that I am opposed to what I regard as its extreme measures and not well-guarded ideas. In an enlarged use of option for the later years of college life I do believe; but my belief in the elective system at all in the American college is not so strong as my distrust of the lengths to which it is being carried by the so-called New Education.

There is one argument of Professor Palmer which is so much a matter of taste and impression, and so little a matter of statistics and logic, that it is not open to discussion. I refer to his conviction that a better type of manliness is developed at Harvard in the students than is to be found in other colleges that have less

completely adopted the principles of the New Education. In behalf of my own pupils, and on the ground of careful observations, I will simply say, — I do not believe that any manlier men than those at Yale are to be found in any college in the country.

Upon the subject of cultured manliness in the undergraduate student, I find myself holding the same ideal as that presented by Professor Palmer, but differing from him considerably, in my judgment, as to the best way of realizing it. It seems to me that he has left the great ethical law of habit, and the immense value of the pressure of immediate necessity, too much out of the account. We want, indeed, to train the young to make right choices, spontaneously, and with a generous love of duty. But none of us live under the sole influence of high ideals set at some remote distance from us. Day by day we choose to do our tasks because the hour for them has come, and the immediate pressure of the environment is upon us. Shall the physician go to his office when the hour comes? His patients are there in waiting. He is expected daily at the appointed hours, — and not merely eighty-four per cent. of these hours. Shall the clerk be at the store, or the book-keeper at his desk, when the hour for beginning business has arrived? He *must* be there: not because he will suffer physical torture if absent; nor yet because he will finally discover that much absence for many years has not, on the whole, been for his best interests. He must be there because he is living under a system which makes it for his immediate interest to be there; and, indeed, has been so trained under such a system that he scarcely contemplates the possibility of not being there. Under a system of education which kindly but firmly invites men to *choose right*, in view of consequences that fit close to their daily and hourly lives, the best character will be trained. It is most like the divine system under which we live as bound together by associated action.

The ground of Professor Palmer's argument from experience has now been pretty well traversed. I am quite content to leave the facts and impressions on both sides to be weighed by all who may be interested in such discussion. In closing I shall express — in the name of the great majority of those engaged in the practical work of education in this country — some of the fears felt as to the ultimate results of the New Education. These fears are not bugbears, incontinently and obstinately opposed to the fair spirit of progress; they are honest and strong fears.

We are afraid that the New Education (meaning by this the

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method in use at Harvard) will increase the tendency to self-indulgence and shallowness, which is already great enough in American student life. A smattering of many knowledges, hastily and superficially got, is the temptation of our modern education. The chief remedy must be in a selection of certain topics to be pursued with large persistence and thoroughness by all those who choose to associate themselves for purposes of common study. If the average American boy, on entering college, had had a discipline, and had made acquisitions in a few lines of study, at all equaling the results reached by the German gymnasium, he might more safely be left to choose for himself. One's eyes must be already well opened to hop about, fetter free, from twig to twig, upon the tree of knowledge. But our freshman has had no such mental discipline; he has made no such acquisitions. The graduate of a German gymnasium knows, indeed, more of some subjects than the majority of the professors of the same subjects in not a few of our so-called colleges. Two years more of continued study in prescribed lines is certainly little enough. [It will be noticed that this statement is quite independent of any opinion as to *what* should be taught in fitting-school and early college years; it implies only that *something* should be secured as thoroughly taught.]

We are afraid of the effect of the New Education upon the academies and fitting-schools of the country. Slowly but steadily the quality of the work done in the preparation of boys for college has been improving. The colleges have continually made increased demands upon the preparatory schools; these schools have been continually responding better and better to the demands made upon them. But now they are to be called upon for a bewildering variety of "courses." How shall they meet the demands made upon them by the many ways amongst which a boy may make his choice to enter the college doors as thrown open by the New Education? What interest will boys continue to take in the mathematics and ancient classics of the fitting-school when these pursuits are required simply to get into college through one of these many doors, and are then liable to be abandoned as soon as the goal of free election has been attained?

We are afraid of the effect of the unrestricted elective system upon the higher education of the country. The standard of such education has constantly been rising for many years. The old methods were, indeed, faulty in many particulars, — in some inherently so, in more as a matter of accidental and temporary applica-

tion. Yet, after all, they gave something that had a definite and tangible value. The new methods, in themselves considered, are better. The new learning and science are, of course, infinitely richer and broader than the old. In order to introduce them to the college undergraduate, however, is it necessary to take everything as respects the subject-matter of his education out of the direct control of the older and wiser party in the transaction, and commit it to the *choice* of the younger and more inexperienced? If this is to be, how will it not affect, almost disastrously for a time, the interests of the higher education? There are, to be sure, many ways of being educated; there are already many schools giving different quantities and kinds of knowledges and powers of action. Hitherto all ways and schools have invited the choices of the men who have attended them only in a general way. They have said, virtually, If you choose me, you choose a certain kind and amount of discipline in knowing and doing, and you must abide by your choice. We know how, as respects both matter and manner, to reach the end better than do you; we will, in the main, choose the path for you. But what of connected, steady discipline in certain lines will a higher education come to represent in this country if the so-called "new" method of giving into the hands of the pupil all choice of subject, from one short period of education to the next, is to prevail?

Finally, we are afraid of the effect of the New Education upon the character of youth. We are still afraid of the very issues in which Professor Palmer finds his arguments for the benefits of the system he approves. It is not enough to show that some improvement in various particulars has taken place in student character and student life at Harvard since this system was most completely put in place there. I think I have shown that in every respect, except the one of securing \$175,000 instead of \$250,000 a year, and of making a smaller percentage of annual gain in numbers, the results of the system still in vogue at Yale are equal, or superior, to those at Harvard. The argument, from an experience of one or two years in a single institution, does not quiet the fears which are grounded in old-time convictions and common institutional customs that have their roots in many centuries. We need much more light, both from reason and from observation, before we can see our way clearly to prefer the so-called "New Education" to one which is, in our judgment, wiser, although both new and old.

George T. Ladd.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

REVELATION AS A FACTOR IN EVOLUTION.

"Christianity is the order of the world, and it is in the order of the world. It is a revelation, but a revelation in the order of the universe." — Rev. T. T. Munroe.

No law of nature has been discovered except through the patient examination of many facts; nor can any law that is not built upon facts stand. On the other hand, it is an unquestionable truth that our knowledge of facts is, to a great extent, the outcome of the discovery of natural laws. When once, in any department of science, a working hypothesis has been reached, its obligation to facts is amply repaid by the reflex light which it throws upon them. From the standpoint of the newly discovered principle we may often be said to rediscover the very facts that have conducted us to it. The proportions of whole groups of phenomena, and even of subordinate principles, become essentially modified when they have found a place under a more comprehensive law which discloses their relations to other groups and principles.

Evolution, as a universal method, aspires to the very first place in the hierarchy of law. It is, in fact, a tentative statement of that unity of principle which has long been held, by a scientific faith, to underlie all nature. If its claims are made good, therefore, it will leave nothing unmodified. The connection of great departments of thought hitherto isolated will be progressively apprehended. Forces that have appeared to be antagonistic will be seen as complementary. Ideas that have had their rise in limitation of view will be dissipated, and the atom of truth which they contained will be incorporated in some larger thought. One conspicuous result of the application of such a principle must be to bring into greater prominence those features of phenomena and of departments of thought that mark their kinship to the rest of our knowledge, and to sink proportionately those features by which they are differentiated and held apart. The more completely isolated, therefore, any section of our thought the more will a rearrangement of it be necessary.

Now the Christian revelation, as ordinarily conceived, has occupied a place so completely outside that order of the world which we have designated *natural* as to seem almost the antithesis of it. The ideas of interference, reversal, overruling, have been made so prominent in Christianity that the change required for its adop-

tion into the scheme of nature must, at first sight, appear revolutionary. But the way for such a change, if we would only see it, has been gradually but surely prepared by science itself. Originally, the thought of revelation, as a series of isolated facts, was not itself an isolation. It was part of a larger conception which separated the sum of phenomena into two distinct classes: the natural and the supernatural, the orderly and the anomalous. Creation as well as revelation belonged to the latter class. At the beginning of the world there was a brief period which was in every way distinct from the ages that came after it. This brief period was the term of origins. As yet there was no course of nature, but the preparation for it was actively carried on during six days. The various organs of nature having been successively called into a fully developed existence, the work of creation ceased, and a uniform course of nature supervened. In this regulated course of things God acted mediately and at a distance. He was, as it were, outside an order which He had established, and which moved on with the routine regularity of a machine. But at certain times, and for definite purposes, the Creator broke into this order and declared his sovereignty by special and startling manifestations of power.

So long as this conception of the world was undisturbed the prominence given to the miraculous element in the Christian revelation could not suffer diminution. Ignorance of natural laws inclined men to see supernatural interference in every exceptional phenomenon. The plague, the earthquake, the lightning, the storm, the eclipse, were not the outcome of the order of nature. They were the interruptions of that order. They were supplementary and special creations. But, as science advanced, a change came over the spirit of this dream. One after another the extraordinary phenomena of the world were assigned their places in that order which they had been supposed to transcend. The realm of the supernatural suffered constant and damaging invasion, and the belief in a special revelation, of which miracles were the vehicle, was left desolate "as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city." The conviction that the order and uniformity of nature is an *all-embracing* principle grew with every new discovery and with every success in classification; and, proportionately, the presumption against any exception to this regularity of natural cause and effect gained strength.

Except for the sturdiness of the defense on the part of those who were possessed by the belief that the interests of religion and

morality were dependent upon the preservation of this fragment of supernaturalism, Christian miracles would have shared the fate of a great hoard of air-built stories that were banished by science.

But again there came a change. A new light broke upon the scientific world, which shook the conception of the uniformity of nature as severely as it had shaken the idea of disorderly interference. The hard and fast line which separated the epoch of beginnings from the epoch of a settled and uniform course of nature was proclaimed to be imaginary. That little and mysterious compartment of time, solid with miracles, was made to pour all its wealth of efficiency, of wonders, of new departures and startling creations into that very order of nature which science had so carefully guarded. "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump." Six days are insignificant when compared with ages upon ages that no man can number. But in this particular six days there was a pent-up wealth of transforming power not dreamed of by those who set free their contents: a power only beginning as yet to make itself felt in the rearrangement and transformation of our ideas.

But we can see what some of the main tendencies of it must be. In the first place it will depose two old usurpers in the realm of thought, without much regard to the divine right of phrases. "*Settled order of nature*," "*Supernatural interference*," must together take their places among the great ones that have ceased to disturb the world. Our conception of nature as a mechanism must be wholly obliterated and replaced by the analogies of organic life and of mind. There is no mere routine, no exact repetition. The universe is a thing that has grown and is growing. Creation has been, and is, and will be. On every side we see not completed products, but beginnings, means and materials. "*E pur si muove*" needs no longer to be said in an undertone. It is a fact, and a fact of far wider and profounder significance than was dreamed of by the persecuted Galileo. The world moves, and God moves in it. He is in every part of it, and He is working toward an end. He works not alone, but with and through the creature. He works not forever with the same means and instruments, but continually with higher organs adapted to higher results. There is a uniformity, but it is the uniformity of an orderly mind of infinite resources.

That most sacred article of scientific *faith* which affirms that the world is governed by system and by law is not set aside, but the conception of it is incalculably enlarged and exalted. Evolu-

tion as really signalizes the liberation of human thought as did the breaking up of the solid dome of the sky when astronomy patiently but firmly led man's unwilling soul into the limitless heavens. Under it the laws of nature are no longer the rigid grooves of force in which alone power may move. They have become living things. As the great inductive philosopher said of prophecy, they have "springing and germinant accomplishments." "Behold, the former things are come to pass, and new things do I declare."

What to our minds appear, and perhaps may always appear, as hitherto non-existent manifestations of law have emerged, and must still be expected to emerge, all along the course of evolution. Into a world of darkness has come light, into a world of inert matter has come activity, into a world of inorganic activity has come life, into a world of unintelligent life has come intelligence, and then into a world of unreasoning intelligence there has come self-conscious reflecting reason, the revelation of the living creature to itself. For ages upon ages God had wrought his wonders in the world, bringing order out of chaos, complexity out of simplicity, activity out of inertness, filling every part of this fair planet with higher and still higher forms of beauty and strength. The sun rose as now in all the glory of his majesty and quickened every living thing. The creatures rejoiced in its warmth and in its light, but as yet they knew it not. They could be dazzled by its beams and blink a recognition, but they could not think about it. The light was shining in darkness and the darkness comprehended it not. All nature was replete with the materials of an objective revelation. Every grain of sand, and every drop of water, had its riddle to propound, but there was as yet no growing mind to be puzzled by them.

But at length, when the world was old, there came another kind of light. The creature became a rational and moral being. This was that "true light, which lighteth every man, coming into the world." It was the beginning of revelation. We cannot trace the stages of that gradual dawning of self-consciousness in the race. We can only picture it to ourselves as something like that which takes place in every individual. There came a time when man's eyes were opened, and he was revealed to himself as a living soul. Nor was this the whole contents of the primal revelation; for conditioned upon the knowledge of self there arose, also, the dim, unformed conception of a higher intelligence to whom the moral self stood related.

Now, having reached this point, do we find anything which should incline us to believe that the process of creation is finished? On the contrary, everything points to a further development. It would be the contradiction of what we find everywhere else in nature to entertain the hypothesis that an element which marks such a rise in the scale of being could suddenly appear in the system and never reappear in higher and more fully developed forms. Evolution obliges us to postulate a career for every such new form of power. But in what aspect will it disclose itself? We cannot look for mere repetition, but rather for continuity with variety. We must anticipate that this new and profoundly modifying principle will manifest itself in forms adjusted to the very changes which its own action has wrought. In tracing the career of such an element, therefore, we must interrogate every assumed reappearance of it something in this way: Are the main characteristics of this modified form in harmony with its earlier manifestations? Are the modifications such as are plainly demanded by changes in the situation? Does the later revelation exhibit in a more expanded and highly developed form the same elements that manifested themselves in the earlier? Does it seem calculated to carry on to completion what the earlier form promised? Does it in any way involve a contradiction of antecedent method? True answers to these questions will help us to test the assumption that the Christian revelation is in harmony with the course of nature, and that it is a real factor in the line of progress from lower to higher forms.

But, a difficulty suggests itself. How can we apply a principle which has so many and continually varying manifestations as evolution? It may, in one aspect, be called a system of surprises in which new and utterly unexpected factors have made their appearance. But we are delivered from this difficulty by the nature of the claims of Christianity. It does not appeal to us as an absolutely new factor, but connects itself with elements which are well known to us. It assumes to be the continuance and expansion of that very primal revelation of which we have been speaking.¹ In looking about for an analogy to guide us, therefore, we do not need to trouble ourselves about chemistry or physics, or about the laws which govern the growth of plants or of animals. We must seek our guidance in that part of life which lies closest to the one which we are studying.

The great factors in a revelation are minds. Our inquiry must,

Compare John i. 1-14.

therefore, turn on the relations which minds of different orders sustain to each other. We must assume a revealing mind as well as a mind receiving the revelation: a great comprehensive intelligence adjusting itself to the needs of one that is of exceedingly limited range, undeveloped, and close to the beginnings of things. I will, therefore, ask the reader to find an analogy by calling to mind the principles which strive together and modify each other in the science of education as it has been developed among men. Is it not reasonable to believe that the same antagonistic and apparently contradictory elements would appear in the case of a man educating a child, and in that of God educating the race, and that they would appear in something the same proportions? Now the most difficult problem in human education is to instruct a mind without weakening it, to pour information into it without crushing it. The first and most important end aimed at is to develop and make strong the *powers* of the mind. It is not a question of how to stretch to its utmost and cram to its fullest a receptacle; but, as the word itself indicates, the drawing out, the evolution of possibilities that are dormant.

One prime object of a true educator, therefore, is to create wants. His next is to make the pupil satisfy those wants by his own efforts. He will watch the process. He will be careful not to interfere with it. But mark, he *will* interfere with it when difficulties are encountered that are too great for the struggling mind. To create wants he will propound enigmas, problems, paradoxes that stimulate and tease the mind into activity. He will, as an oracle, enunciate truths that are far beyond the comprehension of the disciple and ask him to fight his way to the realization of them. He will carefully frame these truths so as to awaken thought rather than to satisfy it. He will endeavor to inspire the pupil with a trustful belief in the accuracy of these advanced truths. And, further, he will modify his methods at every stage of the course of education so as to make them meet the needs of a growing intelligence. The same principles will prevail throughout, but there will be constant variety in the modes of their manifestation.

The application of this analogy is now in order, but I must delay the reader to make sure that he does not distrust our method as unscientific and foreign to the principles of evolution. What we are trying to do is to apply correctly the principle of the response of the organism to environment and conversely of the environment to the organism. Where minds are concerned the very same

acts which constitute a response to environment on the part of the performer of them are the response *from* environment as related to minds affected by them. In treating of the evolution of mind, therefore, we must always take into account the response of a rational environment. To say that my success in any social undertaking depends upon the extent to which my efforts are seconded or thwarted by other wills is the same as to say that it depends upon the nature of the response which those efforts receive from environment. In God "we live and move and have our being," and all life as well as progress depends upon the response of God, our living environment, to our efforts. This response is in general not apprehensible to us as an influence proceeding from another mind. We speak of the "laws of nature" as if they were something quite distinct from mind, but if we postulate mind as the efficiency of nature we must think of its operations as dependent upon the never-ceasing response, more or less direct, of a rational being to an environment which He has called into existence.

And, further, when in accordance with our analogy we consider the relations of human minds to each other, and the important part which language plays in their development, it is certainly reasonable to anticipate that human language will find some place in the multiform response of the Great Educator to his human pupils. Nor are we groping altogether in the dark when we try to formulate some more definite notion of what the leading characteristics of this communication through language would naturally be. For we pursue a truly scientific method when we reason from the requirements of education with which we are acquainted on a limited scale to a process which involves like factors on a much larger scale. We advance in a perfectly legitimate way from the particular to the general, from the individual to the race. The logic is, in fact, identical with that of one of the most convincing of the many lines of argument used by scientific reasoners to establish the general doctrine of evolution. The changes which take place in an embryo during the successive metamorphoses that characterize its history from the germ to the completed organism are adduced not simply as illustrations of what may possibly be true of the history of the formation of species, but they are also used as an *argument*, on the ground that there is a modified uniformity in the methods of nature, and that when we have made ourselves acquainted with a well-defined process in the individual we are justified in looking for an adjusted reproduction of it on a larger scale.

And now for the application of our analogy. But not yet to the written and special revelation. We must first compare it with that part of the process which we have been in the habit of considering as not special but natural. For if we find our analogy supported here we shall occupy a much stronger position for judging of the naturalness of Christianity. To go back, then, for a moment to the initial revelation, what do we find? Is it a full, complete, finished thing? Do all its elements declare themselves to be homogeneous? To find something approaching to this we must go lower down in the scale, and consider that which corresponds to a revelation in a worker-bee, for instance. Here we have an endowment that may be called complete. It is enough for the wants of the creature. There is, indeed, some provision in it for adaptation to new circumstances, but there is nothing under ordinary conditions which suggests variation or improvement. A wonderfully complex organic intelligence is given as a free and perfect gift to every individual of the order. But when we come to that true revelation which makes man a self-conscious being we are confronted with all those conflicting elements which have been forced upon our attention by the requirements of human education. Great oracular truths and facts are given with an authority which is absolute. We call them necessary truths, data of consciousness, innate ideas, the fundamental postulates of thought. We cannot analyze these, we cannot get behind them. We simply have to accept them.

As related to that great mass of knowledge which has been acquired through our own efforts, these ultimate data of thought are mysterious, special, miraculous, — in short, as we frequently use the word, they are unnatural. And yet we cannot ignore them, for all our rational knowledge comes to us through them. What do we find further? These ultimate data of consciousness, although they are so authoritative, have associated with their absoluteness an element of contradiction. While we are obliged to accept them, we cannot reconcile them. They are polar truths, and our minds, endowed with great capabilities not yet but to be developed, take naturally to the task of constructing the world of thought that lies between them; and it is by this effort that we come to be not only conscious, knowing minds, but reasoning, thinking minds. Like everything else in nature, we grow by overcoming difficulties.

Passing on now to the sensible environment, the not-self of the self-conscious human soul, what do we find? We must assume

that this and the soul are adjusted to each other by the Great Educator: and we know that they are related to each other in such manner that certain definite fundamental impressions and conclusions are the result for all rational creatures. But when we have said this we must admit further that nothing is more misleading than this same natural environment. The whole creation is written over with an objective revelation, but it is in various and strange languages. Nature awakens the curiosity of man and leads him on, but she does not pour out her treasures for the simple asking. There is, indeed, always something to reward the open eye and the attentive ear, but how unsatisfactory it all is! Never silent to those who interrogate her, she yet mumbles and prevaricates. She fools us with half truths. When we are most serious she seems to jest. Her grandest utterances are riddles. And when at length by patient importunity we have got the clew, we find ourselves confronted by a deeper and more tantalizing problem.

Every science begins with illusions, with facts viewed out of relation to their real setting; nor has anything of much worth been learned except by determined and persistent efforts to force the hand of Nature. As a late address before the Massachusetts Medical Society expresses it: "Nature has been fairly tortured into uttering her secrets; and only through experiments, varied, repeated, reiterated by a multitude of observers, has her evasive testimony been circumvented." But for all this Nature does not lack enthusiastic votaries. Men who believe her to be consistent beneath all her surface deceits are not wanting. And when some section of truth has at length been laid hold of, some principle that shows a glimpse of order in the midst of contradictions, these oft-baffled inquirers are loud in their praises of her truth. Her enigmas have only stimulated their curiosity. In the midst of her teasing answers she has let slip truth enough to lure them on. In short, the environment has been so adjusted to the mind of man as to force it to become scientific.

Do we find anything different when we come to the sphere of morals? On the contrary, the variableness and contrariety of conscience is the great stumbling-block of ethics. What one man's conscience declares to be right the moral sense of another pronounces wrong. A moral consensus may be arrived at in a community or nation by which certain broad lines of demarkation in conduct are recognized, but within these lines the greatest diversity must always prevail. In different ages of the world we

find now one virtue and now another taking the lead, and in its leadership subordinating, sometimes almost obliterating, others of equal importance. And yet nothing is more authoritative than conscience, no conviction of the mind is more universal than that of responsibility. As in the purely intellectual world, certain data are given. A sense of duty and obligation, which though utterly mysterious we cannot get rid of, and connected with this certain vague indications of the direction to be taken. But beyond these the soul is left to work out its own problems. It finds itself in a world of conflicting claims, desires, emotions, passions. And to ascertain the bearing of the sense of duty upon the varied activities to which these urge is the labor of the man and of the race. There is no lack of deceit here. There are ways that seem good, but yield only bitterness. What seems to be a great moral achievement often turns out to be, so far as its direct and immediate effects are concerned, a moral defeat. But notwithstanding these disappointments, in the teeth of all these oppositions, and because of them, man is progressively moral.

Again, man has a religious nature. What provisions have been made for its development? The account given by the apostle Paul is in perfect harmony with the facts which we have been considering. The Great Educator, he tells us, carefully determined and appointed the natural environment of the different nations of the earth to "seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him." Everywhere in the history of the nations we find this *seeking*. Everywhere the religious want has developed itself at an early stage in man's progress. But history also shows us that the finding was beset with difficulties. Here, as elsewhere, innumerable false ways had to be explored, and grievous errors had to be fallen into. The most ancient records of the great civilizations seem, indeed, to indicate that a comparatively pure conception of God dawned upon some nations in the early stages of their development. In the literatures of India, of China, of Egypt, there are traces of a vague, inconstant belief in God as a supreme and benevolent ruler. But the course of the human mind is from instinct to reason. Beliefs that have a natural and instinctive origin suffer disintegration that they may subsequently be reintegrated in higher and more distinct forms. The heaven that lies about us in our infancy may be dissolved by the questionings of manhood. But a true manhood builds again with materials drawn from reason and experience. A hard, strange, unnecessary labor this must seem to us except we remember that the forging

of character through a process of overcoming, and not the possession of an inherited, unfought-for, instinctive belief, is the end of spiritual evolution.

But there is another side to all this. Shutting ourselves up to the contemplation of the responsibility that is laid upon the human soul, and of the labor and struggle that is required of it in every department, we are easily swept along to the conclusion that man is left absolutely to himself to fight the battle without assistance. But the moment we rise to a more comprehensive view, it is clear that man's efforts are nothing except they are supplemented by an efficiency not his own. Without detracting from the credit which rightfully belongs to the great discoverers of the secrets of Nature, we may, nay, we *must*, recognize the co-operation of that mind which works in all Nature, and which rewards human efforts, because they are efforts, with higher and better things than those aimed at.

We have seen¹ that in the lower ranges of evolution the activities of the creature for the gratification of present immediate wants often result in modifications of the organism which carry it to a higher grade of being. It is not otherwise in the region of mind. The struggles of men to penetrate the secrets of Nature for the attainment of personal ends have led repeatedly to the discovery of truths that are revelations to the race. Men for ages labored patiently and earnestly in the hope of learning how to change the baser metals to gold; they ransacked and tormented Nature in every conceivable way to extort from her the secret of perpetual youth; and behold, as the outcome, the science of chemistry. They anxiously studied the heavens for a knowledge of the future, and at length their efforts were rewarded by the great truths of astronomy. So, also, they sought after gods, — gods of the family and the tribe, — who should protect them and their children; and in the fullness of time there was revealed the Almighty Father, pitying and loving the whole human race. In all these cases the truths revealed have not been those that were expected, nor in the line desired, by those who labored for them. "There's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will."

But it is not alone in the efficiency of the power that hides itself that we are obliged to recognize a constant element of coöperation and guidance. The Almighty works not alone directly on individuals, but mediately also through men whom He has guided into

¹ *Andover Review*, May, 1885, p. 439.

the position of leaders. One of the most remarkable fruits of rational evolution is the production of a *medium of revelation*. Human language makes it possible for the great seers and prophets of science not only to "think the thoughts of God after Him," but also to proclaim them to a world lying in ignorance.

That such great secrets should suddenly be divulged for the benefit of those who have bestowed no labor on their acquisition must seem at first sight an express contradiction of the method which we have been at such pains to illustrate. It certainly stands in startling contrast to it. But it is, in fact, just that member of our analogy for which we ought to be looking if we would discover a reappearance, in modified forms, of the method of education by revelation. The advanced truths of science, deposited by means of genius, are, as related to the great mass of intelligent minds, the true counterparts of those fundamental postulates of thought which underlie the primal revelation of man to himself. They are intellectual seed grain scattered by the servants of Him who formed the ear for hearing, the eye for seeing, and the mind for thinking. They do not of themselves materially change the intellectual status. Only as minds are stimulated by them, and made to react upon them, can they bear fruit in the uplifting of the race. This invites to a comparison.

Let us bring together, under the unifying idea of evolution, the scientific and the religious revelations, that we may discover whether these can be viewed as homogeneous, consistent elements in one system. In doing this we must be prepared for a considerable modification of current and traditional views. That is, the application of the more comprehensive principle will necessarily bring into greater prominence those features of our conception that assimilate, and correspondingly depress those that differentiate, these two branches of revelation. It is for the reader to judge whether such an adjustment is in the interests of truth.

We have already seen that the claim of Christianity to the communication of advanced truths which the mass of men cannot verify is not peculiar to it. Science does the same through its seers and prophets. But the moment we consider the methods by which these different classes of truths seek to establish their claims we come upon what seems to be a wide divergence. The Christian revelations, it may be said, take their stand upon miracles and infallibility, while the scientific take theirs upon verifiable facts and demonstration. Opposite ways of dealing with the human spirit are, therefore, represented by science and revealed

religion. The one, by appealing to reason, develops and strengthens it; the other, by overriding reason, paralyzes the very life-centres of intellectual and moral progress. This is a vital point, and we must examine its claims somewhat in detail.

First, as to the scientific side. What are the methods by which an advanced scientific truth gains admission into the world? Like other truths, it has to fight its way. Its first reception is often like that which greets advanced positions in religious thoughts. It is to the people foolishness, and to theologians a stumbling-block. It is ridiculed by those who have been at no pains to understand it, and its unsettling effect upon all that has been taught and believed hitherto is taken for granted. For the overcoming of these difficulties the scientific revelation depends first upon the patient and careful investigation of the few who are able to appreciate the evidence upon which it rests. When these, the natural guardians and critics of science, have, one after another, verified the steps indicated, and have indorsed the alleged fact or law, it receives a large accession of believers from intelligent people, who, though not able personally to verify the scientific process, are yet willing to accept its result on what they regard as competent authority. And, lastly, there are signs and wonders which startle into real belief a multitude of minds that otherwise would have remained hostile or indifferent.

When a comet or an eclipse has made its appearance in the heavens, as predicted by astronomers, the incredulous will be turned into believers. And they will believe not only in the truth of the prophets with regard to this particular matter, but they will accept other statements which contradict the testimony of their senses, and which they are utterly unable to verify. They will even believe that the earth is a sphere, and that it moves through space with an inconceivable velocity. The same kind of belief is produced by the illustrations of a scientific lecturer. The chemist who can decompose water, and before our very eyes extract from it a highly inflammable gas, is credited when he further tells us that the amount of energy required to decompose a pound of water into its constituent gases would be adequate to raise a weight of over five million pounds one foot high. And so in all departments of science we accept the apparently impossible in bulk, because our incredulity has been broken through by the transformation of other seeming improbabilities into facts.

Now are we distorting the truth in thus representing the wonders of science as the counterpart of miracles in the sphere of revealed

religion? It may be said, The wonders of science are not breaches of the laws of nature; they are the manifestation of them. I reply, The illustration of the chemist is a manifestation of natural laws under peculiar circumstances, — *circumstances of his own choosing*. It is by virtue of his commanding intelligence that he has the power to so modify the course of nature and specialize its forces as to transform water into an inflammable gas. What improbability is there then in the assumption that the all-wise Instructor of our race has done similar things to attain similar ends?

All our material civilization is the outcome of innumerable specializations of force and law which are just as reasonably construed as interferences with the course of nature as the healing of one that was born blind or the raising of the dead. The miller who arrests the course of an idle stream, and forces it to accumulate its power that he may conduct it into a channel of his own choosing for the accomplishment of ends not included in the course of nature, is a type of the transforming, miracle-working power of the human mind. The wonders that man has wrought by isolating, combining, concentrating, attenuating, imprisoning, and directing the forces of nature should make it easy to believe that the mind which compasses the whole of that of which we know only the rudiments can bring to pass for the accomplishment of his own ends specializations of force which transcend the limits of our knowledge.

Does the doctrine of evolution forbid us to cherish such a conception? On the contrary, it compels us to entertain it. It bids us recognize a mighty, all-pervasive energy working for ends by means of never ceasing and infinitely diversified variations, an inscrutable power that is forever creating by adjustments, by adaptations, by specializations of the forces that exist, and by causing to emerge other forces which, to our minds at least, seem absolutely new.

But, having arrived at this point, I am well aware that the analogy which I have drawn from scientific methods in education will seem to have a serious flaw. It will appear that I have set over against each other elements that occupy positions of almost inverse importance in the two departments of thought compared. In the world of the physical sciences the exhibition of extraordinary phenomena to induce belief in advanced positions has only a limited use. It is never relied upon to beget a high degree of conviction aside from the facts immediately concerned. The presentation of such phenomena are useful to rouse the indifferent.

They effect a lodgment for ideas that would not otherwise gain the attention. They predispose the unscientific to believe in a world of truth that lies beyond their knowledge. But farther than this the method is one that is specially disowned by science in all its branches. Science does not rely upon authority. It does not ask the acceptance of truths that cannot be proved because they have emanated from a particular source. It never asks the mind to rest in that measure of belief that comes from confidence in individuals, but gives its reasons for everything, and invites criticism at every point. The Christian revelation, on the other hand, puts miracles in the fore-front of its appeal and keeps them there. They are not relied upon as the first steps toward belief or as helps by the way toward conviction, but their *sufficiency* is affirmed; and, on the strength of it, beliefs that provoke the criticism of the moral reason are said to be beyond its reach. What is a duty in other departments becomes a sin in that of religion.

I am not disposed to question the fairness of this objection. For though Protestant defenders of orthodoxy have differed much in the stress laid upon miracles, they have in many instances assumed for them the importance which it alleges; and the Roman Church unequivocally takes its stand upon miracles and infallibility as the means which God has ordained for the coercion and subjugation of the human reason. But it is just at this point that the analogies of evolution call upon us to consider most critically a position which makes the Christian revelation an exception to God's method of dealing with man in all other departments. It sends us back to the written record to discover whether this view of miracles originated with it, or with later defenders of the faith. I believe that a candid examination of the teachings of Christ and his apostles will show that they assigned to miracles (considered simply as wonderful works) no higher position than that which the corresponding wonders of science occupy in relation to its advanced truths. I say *considered simply as wonderful works*, for the miracles of Christ were also parables, weighted with a profound moral significance which it is the task of the race and of individuals to fathom by a progressive realization. But as signs and wonders their place was purely subordinate and provisional. They were adaptations, concessions to the attitude of minds not yet sufficiently developed to grasp high spiritual truths. They were supports to those who were young in the faith, in the midst of a hostile environment.

In the exercise of his wonder-working power our Lord was

largely influenced by the mental attitude of those with whom he came in contact. In the great majority of cases it was elicited in response to a measure of faith already existing. It was his answer to the cry "Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief." He uniformly refused those who came in a hostile spirit, demanding a sign, and seems to have regarded every such challenge as a temptation to fall back on lower methods than those which He had chosen. He recognized the futility of signs to change the heart and the will. "An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign." "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead." He forewarns his disciples that the time is coming when their faith will be sorely tried unless it has found higher ground than that afforded by miracles. "There shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders; so as to lead astray, if possible, even the elect."

He repeatedly signified his relatively low estimate of a belief that rested on physical phenomena, and his craving for a higher faith in his followers. To elicit an expression of such a faith He said to one, "Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe." To his disciples He said, "Believe me that I am in the Father and the Father in me: or else believe me for the very works' sake." To Thomas, believing because he had touched the wounded hands and side, He said, "Because thou hast seen me thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed." When about to leave his disciples He makes to them this astonishing announcement: "He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and GREATER works than these shall he do." Can we believe that the superiority here predicated had reference to the amount and not to the quality of the results to be attained? As on a former occasion our Saviour had declared the "least in the kingdom of heaven" to be *greater* than John the Baptist, so here also did He not point to the fact that it was to be the privilege of the disciples, through the coöperation of the Spirit, to lead men to a plane of spiritual life more elevated and more stable than could be reached by a mere belief in external phenomena? The place assigned to miracles by the Apostle Paul is in harmony with this view: "And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then miracles."

Some of the miracles recorded in the Bible are signs to the believers of every age and are pledges to all who find their hold on

the great facts of Christianity strengthened by them. But others were specially adapted to the prepossessions of those who witnessed them, and are not therefore easily apprehended by men inheriting widely different habits of thought. Dr. Newman has called attention to the fact that in many cases "miracles which produced a rational conviction at the time when they took place have ever since proved rather an objection to revelation than an evidence for it, and have depended on the rest for support; while others, which once were of a dubious and perplexing character, have in succeeding ages come forward in its defence."¹

Protestantism has indirectly recognized the provisional office of miracles by not encouraging the expectation of their continuance; and the analogies of history as well as those of physical nature sustain a judgment that has been largely instinctive. The higher we rise in the scale of creation the more does the progressive method declare itself both in the history of ideas and of individuals; and the more extended the development in any given case the more numerous and varied are the elements that have been successively utilized and outgrown. The human infant, capable of an elaborateness of evolution in comparison with which the lives of other animals seem to be almost stationary, begins its existence in a state of absolute dependence. It must be carried, protected, nourished. It must be led step by step till it is able to take care of itself; and along the whole course of its growth appliances and methods that have been useful are left behind. What was beneficial at an early stage becomes not only unnecessary but positively opposed to growth at a later one. The same has been true of ideas. Those that have had the most elaborate history, and that still promise a future of development, are in many cases those which have had the feeblest beginnings. How many great truths have had to be first protected by secrecy, then fought for, then hedged about by law, then fostered and developed by public sentiment, till at last they have attained to an independent and secure position! Does not the religious faith of many an earnest seeker after truth go through analogous stages? And in all these cases supports that were important and necessary to one period of development become cast-off swaddling clothes to the next.

Christianity, in its successive metamorphoses, has most conspicuously illustrated this principle. At its entrance into the world it claimed to be not a new religion, but a higher form of one that had known a great history. Externally considered, one of the

¹ *Essays on Miracles*, p. 9.

most marked of the phenomena attending its advent was the abandonment of a time-honored rigid shell that *had* protected, but now cramped and smothered it. Old traditions, old ceremonies, old requirements, old and consecrated places of worship, were left behind. The things to be destroyed were, to the apprehension of the generation nursed in them, very great, very sacred, most essential and indispensable; while those which remained were truly typified by the soft, helpless, undeveloped babe lying in the manger at Bethlehem. Without a priesthood, without a ritual, destitute of prestige, it came to supplant an organized form of religion that had all these advantages. It came to make a direct appeal to the human reason, to establish itself in the hearts and consciences of men, to abolish the necessity of human mediation, and to bring the individual into direct and living communion with God. It essayed to do this by the presentation of certain great facts and ideas, the acceptance of which would be the first step in its career of conquest.

But how were these great facts to gain acceptance? Necessarily *not* through the ordinary channels of human authority and influence; for one great end to be attained was to bring man face to face with his God, to make him an intelligent agent in that transformation by which he passed out of the relation of subject into that of sonship, out of that of servant into that of friend. The Father must reveal himself as speaking directly to the individual. But the great facts and ideas to be communicated are advanced truths. They do not appeal to the present consciousness of the mass of men; and by their very nature they do not admit of that kind of demonstration which the truths of science offer. The time will come when, accepted and proved in the experience of the race, they will speak for themselves. But now it is necessary that signs of their divine origin should fill the place ordinarily occupied by the prestige of a great name. Until these spiritual facts can be spiritually attested, it is expedient that they should be attested by facts that are their analogues in the realm of sensible phenomena.

Through a man of humble origin God announces the great fact of the forgiveness of sins. When one sick of the palsy is laid before him He utters the authoritative and startling proclamation, "Son, thy sins be forgiven thee." But to the bystanders this seems only blasphemy, until He manifests himself by adding, "That ye may know that the Son of man hath *power* on earth to forgive sins, I say unto thee, Arise, and take up thy bed and go thy

way into thine house." Then, we are told, they "glorified God." He had spoken to them in a language which they understood, by signs that in the current thought of the time were the true and infallible exponents of the power which He assumed. So, also, it was necessary that the great fact of life beyond the grave should be signalized to the apprehension of the senses by the resurrection, and that the reality of the mysterious indwelling of God in the human soul, and of his coöperative working with the individual, should be indorsed by the external phenomena of the day of Pentecost.

But the great end for which these truths were introduced into the scheme of things could not be accomplished by any such means. Had they been lodged far more securely and more widely in the minds of that generation it would not have been accomplished. For these truths were new factors in the development of man, — in the development of his reason, of his spiritual life, of his whole being. They are the starting points of a new era. They are to be progressively apprehended. They are to be understood as well as assented to, — realized, not simply recognized. They are in this higher stage of evolution the analogues of those fundamental truths, the ultimate data of thought, that underlie man's original revelation to himself. And as these original postulates were and are surrounded by the elements of an external revelation, the materials for the development and realization of that originally given, so the great facts in the realm of the spirit have a growth-promoting environment of their own; first, in the manifold writings of the Bible, and second, in every kind of knowledge and experience that comes to, or that is achieved by, the mind of man.

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LOUIS AGASSIZ.¹

THERE is no need to give an abstract of the contents of these fascinating volumes, for everybody is reading them. Most are probably wishing for more personal details, especially of the American life; but the editorial work is so deftly and delicately done, and "the story of an intellectual life marked by rare coherence and unity" is so well arranged to tell itself and make its impression, that we may thankfully accept what has been given us, though the desired "fullness of personal narrative" be wanting.

Twelve years have passed since Agassiz was taken from us. Yet to some of us it seems not very long ago that the already celebrated Swiss naturalist came over in the bloom of his manly beauty to charm us with his winning ways, and inspire us with his overflowing enthusiasm, as he entered upon the American half of that career which has been so beneficial to the interests of natural science. There are not many left of those who attended those first Lowell Lectures in the autumn of 1846, — perhaps all the more taking for the broken English in which they were delivered, — and who shared in the delight with which, in a supplementary lecture, he more fluently addressed his audience in his mother tongue.

In these earliest lectures he sounded the note of which his last public utterance was the dying cadence. For, as this biography rightly intimates, his scientific life was singularly entire and homogeneous, — if not uninfluenced yet quite unchanged by the transitions which have marked the period. In a small circle of naturalists, almost the first that was assembled to greet him on his coming to this country, and of which the writer is the sole survivor, when Agassiz was inquired of as to his conception of "species," he sententiously replied: "A species is a thought of the Creator." To this thoroughly theistic conception he joined the scientific deduction which he had already been led to draw, that the animal species of each geological age, or even stratum, were different from those preceding and following, and also unconnected by natural derivation. And his very last published words reiterated his steadfast conviction that "there is no evidence of a direct descent of later from earlier species in the geological succession of animals." Indeed, so far as we know, he would not even admit that

¹ *Louis Agassiz, His Life and Correspondence.* Edited by Elizabeth Cary Agassiz. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885.

such "thoughts of the Creator" as these might have been actualized in the natural course of events. If he had accepted such a view, and if he had himself apprehended and developed in his own way the now well-nigh assured significance of some of his early and pregnant generalizations, the history of the doctrine of development would have been different from what it is, a different spirit and another name would have been prominent in it, and Agassiz would not have passed away while fighting what he felt to be — at least for the present — a losing battle. It is possible that the "whirligig of time" may still "bring in his revenges," but not very probable.

Much to his credit, it may be said that a good share of Agassiz's invincible aversion to evolution may be traced to the spirit in which it was taken up by his early associate Vogt, and, indeed, by most of the German school then and since, which justly offended both his scientific and his religious sense. Agassiz always "thought nobly of the soul," and could in no way approve either materialistic or agnostic opinions. The idealistic turn of his mind was doubtless confirmed in his student days at Munich, whither he and his friend Braun resorted after one session at Heidelberg, and where both devotedly attended the lectures of Schelling, — then in his later glory, — and of Oken, whose *Natur-Philosophie* was then in the ascendant. Although fascinated and inspired by Oken's *a priori* biology (built upon morphological ideas which had not yet been established but had, in part, been rightly divined), the two young naturalists were not carried away by it, — probably because they were such keen and conscientious observers, and were kept in close communion with work-a-day Nature. As Agassiz intimates, they had to resist "the temptation to impose one's own ideas upon Nature, to explain her mysteries by brilliant theories rather than by patient study of the facts as we find them," and that "overbearing confidence in the abstract conceptions of the human mind as applied to the study of nature;" although, indeed, he adds, "the young naturalist of that day who did not share, in some degree, the intellectual stimulus given to scientific pursuits by physio-philosophy would have missed a part of his training." That training was not lost upon Agassiz. Although the adage in his last published article, "a physical fact is as sacred as a moral principle," was well lived up to, yet ideal prepossessions often had much to do with his marshaling of the facts.

Another professor at Munich, from whom Agassiz learned much, and had nothing to unlearn, was the anatomist and physi-

ologist, Döllinger. He published little; but he seems to have been the founder of modern embryological investigation, and to have initiated his two famous pupils, first Von Baer, and then Agassiz, into at least the rudiments of the doctrine of the correspondence between the stages of the development of the individual animal with that of its rank in the scale of being, and the succession in geological time of the forms and types to which the species belongs. A principle very fertile for scientific zoölogy in the hands of both these naturalists, and one of the foundations of that theory of evolution which the former, we believe, partially accepted, and the other wholly rejected.

The botanical professor, the genial Von Martius, should also be mentioned here. He found Agassiz a student, barely of age; he directly made him an author, and an authority in the subject of his predilection. Dr. Spix, the zoölogical companion of Martius in Brazilian exploration, died in 1826; the fishes of the collection were left untouched. Martius recognized the genius of Agassiz, and offered him, and, indeed, pressed him to undertake their elaboration. Agassiz brought out the first part of the quarto volume on the Fishes of the Brazilian Expedition of Spix and Martius before he took his degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and completed it before he proceeded to that of Doctor in Medicine in 1830. The work opened his way to fame, but brought no money. Still, as Martius defrayed all the expenses, the net result compared quite favorably with that of later publications. Moreover, out of it possibly issued his own voyage to Brazil in later years, under auspices such as his early patron never dreamed of.

This early work also made him known to Cuvier; so that when he went to Paris, a year afterwards, to continue his medical and scientific studies — the one, as he deemed, from necessity, the other from choice — he was received as a fellow *savant*. Yet at first with a certain reserve, probably no more than was natural in view of the relative age and position of the two men; but Agassiz, writing to his sister, says: "This extreme but formal politeness chills you instead of putting you at your ease; it lacks cordiality, and, to tell the truth, I would gladly go away if I were not held fast by the wealth of material of which I can avail myself." But only a month later he writes — this time to his uncle — that, while he was anxious lest he "might not be allowed to examine, and still less to describe, the fossil fishes and their skeletons in the Museum, . . . knowing that Cuvier intended to write a work on this subject," and might naturally wish to reserve the materials

for his own use, and when the young naturalist, as he showed his own sketches and notes to the veteran, was faintly venturing to hope that, on seeing his work so far advanced, he might perhaps be invited to share in a joint publication, Cuvier relieved his anxiety and more than fulfilled his half-formed desires.

"He desired his secretary to bring him a certain portfolio of drawings. He showed me the contents: they were drawings of fossil fishes, and notes which he had taken in the British Museum and elsewhere. After looking it through with me, he said he had seen with satisfaction the manner in which I had treated this subject; that I had, indeed, anticipated him, since he had intended at some future time to do the same thing; but that, as I had given it so much attention, and had done my work so well, he had decided to renounce his project, and to place at my disposition all the materials he had collected and all the preliminary notes he had taken."

Within three months Cuvier fell under a stroke of paralysis, and shortly died. The day before the attack he had said to Agassiz, "Be careful, and remember that *work kills*." We doubt if it often kills naturalists, unless when, like Cuvier, they also become statesmen.

But to live and work the naturalist must be fed. It was a perplexing problem how possibly to remain a while longer in Paris, which was essential to the carrying on of his work, and to find the means of supplying his very simple wants. And here the most charming letters in these volumes are, first, the one from his mother, full of tender thoughtfulness, and making the first suggestion about Neuchâtel and its museum, as a place where the aspiring naturalist might secure something more substantial than "brilliant hopes" to live upon; next, that from Agassiz to his father, who begs to be told as much as he can be supposed to understand of the nature of this work upon Fossil Fishes, which called for so much time, labor, and expense; and, almost immediately, Agassiz's letter to his parents, telling them that Humboldt had, quite spontaneously and unexpectedly, relieved his present anxieties by a credit of a thousand francs, to be increased, if necessary. Humboldt had shown a friendly interest in him from the first, and had undertaken to negotiate with Cotta, the publisher, in his behalf; but, becoming uneasy by the delay, and feeling that "a man so laborious, so gifted, and so deserving of affection . . . should not be left in a position where lack of serenity disturbs his power of work," he delicately pressed the acceptance

of this aid as a confidential transaction between two friends of unequal age.

Indeed, the relations between the "two friends," one at that time sixty-three, and the other twenty-five, were very beautiful, and so continued, as the correspondence shows. Humboldt's letters (we wish there were more of them) are particularly delightful, are full of wit and wisdom, of almost paternal solicitude, and of excellent counsel. He enjoins upon Agassiz to finish what he has in hand before taking up new tasks (this is in 1837), not to spread his intellect over too many subjects at once, nor to go on enlarging the works he had undertaken; he predicts the pecuniary difficulties in which expansion would be sure to land him, bewails the glacier investigations, and closes with "a touch of fun, in order that my letter may seem a little less like preaching. A thousand affectionate remembrances. No more ice, not much of echinoderms, plenty of fish, recall of ambassadors *in partibus*, and great severity toward booksellers, an infernal race, two or three of which have been killed under me."

The ambassadors *in partibus* were the artists Agassiz employed and sent to England or elsewhere to draw fossil fishes for him in various museums, at a cost which Humboldt knew would be embarrassing. The ice, which he would have no more of, refers to the glacier researches upon which Agassiz was entering with ardor, laying one of the solid foundations of his fame. Curiously enough both Humboldt and Von Buch, with all their interest in Agassiz, were quite unable to comprehend the importance of an inquiry which was directly in their line, and, indeed, they scorned it; while the young naturalist, without training in physics or geology, but with the insight of genius, at once developed the whole idea of the glacial period, with its wonderful consequences, upon his first inspection of the phenomena shown him by Charpentier in the valley of the Rhône.

It is well that Humboldt's advice was not heeded in this regard. Nevertheless, he was a wise counselor. He saw the danger into which his young friend's enthusiasm and boundless appetite for work was likely to lead him. For of Agassiz it may be said, with a variation of the well-known adage, that there was nothing he touched that he did not aggrandize. Everything he laid hold of grew large under his hand, — grew into a mountain threatening to overwhelm him, and would have overwhelmed any one whose powers were not proportionate to his aspirations. Established at Neuchâtel, and giving himself with ardor to the duties of his pro-

fessorship, it was surely enough if he could do the author's share in the production of his great works on the fossil and the fresh-water fishes, without assuming the responsibilities and cares of publication as well, and even of a lithographic establishment which he set up mainly for his own use. But he carried on, *pari passu*, or nearly so, his work on Fossil Mollusca, — a quarto volume with nearly a hundred plates, — his monographs of Echinoderms, living and fossil, his investigations of the embryological development of fishes, and that laborious work, the "Nomenclator Zoologicus," with the "Bibliographia," later published in England by the Ray Society. Moreover, of scattered papers, those of the Royal Society's Catalogue which antedate his arrival in this country are more than threescore and ten. He had help, indeed; but the more he had the more he enlarged and diversified his tasks, Humboldt's sound advice about his zoölogical undertakings being no more heeded than his fulminations against the glacial theory.

In the midst of all this, Agassiz turned his glance upon the glaciers, and the "local phenomenon" became at once a cosmic one. So far a happy divination: but he seems to have believed quite to the last that not only the temperate zones, but whole intertropical continents — at least the American — had been sheeted with ice. The narrative in the first volume will give the general reader a vivid but insufficient conception of the stupendous work upon which he so brilliantly labored for nearly a decade of years.

Cælum non animum mutant who come with such a spirit to a wider and, scientifically, less developed continent. First as visitor, soon as denizen, and at length as citizen of the American republic, Agassiz rose with every occasion to larger and more various activities. What with the Lowell Institute, the college in Charleston, South Carolina, and Cornell University, in addition to Harvard, he may be said to have held three or four professorships at once, none of them sinecures. He had not been two months in the country before a staff of assistants was gathered around him and a marine zoölogical laboratory was in operation. The rude shed on the shore and the small wooden building at Cambridge developed under his hand into the Museum of Zoölogy, — if not as we see it now, yet into one of the foremost collections. Who can say what it would have been if his plans and ideas had obtained full recognition, and "expenditure" had seemed to the trustees, as it seemed to him, "the best investment," or if efficient filial aid, not then to be dreamed of, had not given solid realization to the high paternal aspirations! In like manner grew large under his

hand the Brazilian exploration, so generously provided for by a Boston citizen and fostered by an enlightened emperor; and on a similar scale was planned, and partly carried out, the "Contributions to the Natural History of the United States," as the imperial quarto work was modestly entitled, which was to be published "at the rate of one volume a year, each volume to contain about three hundred pages and twenty plates," with simple reliance upon a popular subscription; — and so, indeed, of everything which this large-minded man undertook.

While Agassiz thus was a *magnanimous* man, in the literal as well as the accepted meaning of the word, he was also, as we have seen, a truly fortunate one. Honorable assistance came to him at critical moments, such as the delicate gift from Humboldt at Paris, which perhaps saved him to science; such as the Wollaston prize from the Geological Society in 1834, when he was struggling for the means of carrying on the "Fossil Fishes;" and the remainder of the deficit of this undertaking he was able to make up from his earliest earnings in America. For the rest, we all know how almost everything he desired, — and he wanted nothing except for science — was cheerfully supplied to his hand by admiring givers. Those who knew the man during the twenty-seven years of his American life can quite understand the contagious enthusiasm and confidence which he evoked. The impression will in some degree be transmitted by these pleasant and timely volumes, which should make the leading lines of the life of Agassiz clear to the newer generation, and deepen them in the memory of an older one.

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DATA OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT.

THE present condition of Christian thought with reference to the doctrine which is in many respects the most important of the whole system of Christian truth is peculiar. The atonement itself, as the great saving fact of the gospel, was never more prominent. Our ministers preach with unwearied assiduity the truth that Christ died for our sins, according to the Scriptures. The cross of Christ is made as truly the centre of the gospel to-day as in the times of Paul. But as a doctrine, that is, as a formulated statement of truth, the atonement lacks definite shape. The older

theories are no longer satisfactory to the deepest and most devout thought of the church. The new theories, while they are welcomed for the new truth they contain, or the neglected truth they bring to light, do not command general acceptance. In fact, so far as this doctrine is concerned, we are passing through a theological interregnum.

No mistake, however, could be greater than to infer from this state of things any indifference to the doctrine of the atonement. The fact is precisely the opposite. The lack of a satisfactory theory is due to the profound realization which prevails of the importance of the subject and the equally profound unwillingness to deal with it superficially. It has been given to our age as to no other to perceive the largeness of this doctrine, its manifold connection with the other Christian truths, the difficulties of Scripture interpretation involved in it, its mysteriousness on the side turned towards the inner relations of the divine nature, and the deep-lying ethical questions at stake. We have come to see that the doctrine is a complex of many elements, which must be carefully analyzed, brought into relation with each other, and given each its appropriate place and prominence, before the final statement can be reached, and that only thus can we avoid that defective understanding of fundamental conceptions which is the fault of the older theories, and that onesidedness which is the even more glaring fault of their modern rivals. Accordingly, the work of the present is chiefly preliminary. Its importance can be measured only in the light of the final result. When it is completed, as in due time it will be, the new and better theory we have been waiting for so long will be revealed and will express to our age its true belief concerning this momentous subject.

The present article is intended as a contribution to this preliminary work. Its object is to furnish some "aids to reflection" touching the fundamental conceptions involved in the doctrine of the atonement. It is written with a profound sense of the importance of clear thought upon this subject, and with an undoubting belief that here, as elsewhere in the domain of Christian truth, we may, when led by the Spirit of truth, attain such clearness of mental vision as will enable us to bring the teachings of revelation into harmonious and consistent forms of reason.

I. We need at the outset to have distinctly before us the position of the atonement in the Christian system. In many of the modern discussions of the subject this seems obscured. The older theologians were more precise.

The object of Christ's mission was the redemption or salvation of men: that is, their restoration to complete conformity to the divine image defaced by sin and their advancement to the perfection of the divine sonship in the heavenly state. It aimed at nothing less than complete deliverance from sin and attainment of the goal of the divine purpose concerning man. To accomplish this result, Christ's work as Mediator and Redeemer is performed. His incarnation, his earthly experience, his perfect sonship in humanity, his revelation of the Father's love and will, his sufferings and death, his resurrection and ascension, his exalted activity through the Holy Spirit, all belong to his mediatorial work. Traditional theology finds a place for all these particulars — if not with complete definiteness of conception and statement, at least with sufficient accuracy — under its threefold distribution of the mediatorial office into the functions of Prophet, Priest, and King. And any theological system which will do justice to the Scriptural facts must treat the subject as broadly.

Now in this mediatorial work of Christ the atonement is a single element. It is, indeed, the central and cardinal fact, with which all the other facts are most closely connected. Nevertheless in the Scriptures it is distinctly marked off from the rest. The subject-matter of the atonement is the death of Christ. The apostles, when they treat of it, invariably designate it by some term that confines it to this element in the Saviour's work. The blood, the cross of Christ, the giving up of his life, form their theme, when they tell of what Christ has done to secure the forgiveness of human sin. To confound this fact with the other elements of the Mediator's work, intimately connected with them though it may be, makes clear thought upon the subject impossible. Doubtless the Saviour's life, tested by temptation, made perfect in the school of suffering, in its unbroken filial union with the Father itself a revelation of God, was the indispensable condition of the atonement, without which there could have been no atonement. But it was not the atonement itself. Doubtless in that life the human race, before separated from God by sin, was in principle reconciled with Him, a holy scion grafted into the sinful stock, so that in virtue of the union the stock itself might be called holy. But this was not the atonement. Or, to look further on to the later stages of Christ's work, doubtless the resurrection was essential as a vindication of the reality of the atonement, to such a degree that it takes a place in the apostolical utterances almost as prominent as the death. But it was not the atonement.

In similar terms we may speak of the work of grace initiated and carried forward in the heart by the risen Lord, who performs his gracious will through the agency of the Holy Spirit; it is based upon the atonement. But the tyro in Scripture truth knows the difference between atonement on the one hand and regeneration and sanctification on the other.

The problem of the atonement is the problem of Christ's death. That the sinless One died for our sins, giving his life a ransom for many, is the truth which every theory of the atonement has to explain. There can be no agreement upon the subject, and no successful dealing with its difficulties, unless this fact is clearly recognized.

II. Not less essential is it that the objects of the atonement should be definitely stated and distinguished. This is the more important because the Scriptures, using popular language and aiming at practical religious results rather than at theological precision, leave the matter somewhat uncertain. There need, however, be no difficulty upon the subject, if only we give careful attention to the distinctions underlying the New Testament teachings. The atonement may be viewed as a means to complete redemption as an end, or it may be viewed independently as an element in the work of Christ. Regarded in the first and more general aspect, the atonement has the same objects as redemption itself, namely, the complete restoration of man to holiness and his attainment of the goal of perfected manhood. To this result all the acts of God's grace in Christ tend. It is the "far-off, divine event to which the whole creation moves," the perfection of the believer, God's kingdom in mankind. But we may also regard the atonement in its immediate purpose, and here we find its object always declared to be the forgiveness of sins. This object is presented under different aspects and designated by different terms. If we look at it from the legal point of view, with reference to the righteousness which God requires, it is justification. If we turn our thought to the relations between God and men which have been disturbed by sin, we call it reconciliation or peace with God. If we consider it in the light of the new relation into which it introduces the sinner, it is adoption, or the state of sonship, in which the believer is the heir of God and joint-heir with our Lord Jesus Christ. Or if, instead of contemplating the object of the atonement in the individual, we turn our attention to its effect upon mankind in general, the object appears as a new relation of the world itself to God, a state of presumptive recon-

ciliation, at once the beginning, the prophecy, and the pledge of a redeemed world. To recapitulate: forgiveness of sins, reconciliation, justification, sonship for the individual, a world potentially reconciled to God,—these are the different aspects under which the object of the atonement is revealed.

We must, then, distinguish a direct and proximate object from an indirect and ultimate object. The atonement, when appropriated by faith, secures the former by its own efficiency; the latter follows, not directly, but through the mediation of the Holy Spirit. Redemption is a process which can be carried on only in a state of harmony with God. Atonement is the means by which this state of harmony is secured. The true relation of the two appears when we say that the ultimate end of the atonement is redemption, while its proximate end is reconciliation in order to redemption.

Through a failure to observe these obvious distinctions, a vast amount of vagueness has been introduced into the modern discussions of the doctrine. At one time, the ultimate object is emphasized, to the neglect or even the entire suppression of the proximate. Again, the proximate object is made the be-all and the end-all, until it is made to appear that the chief end of man is to have his sins forgiven. The result is confusion and misunderstanding. Both these ends are of vital importance; but each in its place, reconciliation as the precondition, redemption as the blessed consummation.

III. We have thus far considered the proximate object of the atonement upon its positive side. But it can also be stated negatively. In the language of popular theology the object of the atonement is often said to be "salvation," or, more particularly, "salvation from punishment." Both of these terms—salvation and punishment—seem to call for more careful analysis and definition.

The word salvation is preëminently a Scriptural expression. The definition given it in theological discussions should therefore correspond to its Scriptural meanings. Now in the New Testament we find the term used chiefly in two senses, and only rarely in a third. It is employed, in the first place, to describe that deliverance from the presence and power of sin which is synonymous with complete redemption. In this sense it is identical with the ultimate object of the atonement. It is also used in the meaning of deliverance from the doom which awaits the unrighteous at the last judgment. In this sense it corresponds to neither the ulti-

mate nor the proximate object of the atonement, though it may be said to be a necessary concomitant of the former and a necessary consequence of the latter. There is left the third meaning, which is that of deliverance from the guilt of sin, that is, that relation of the unforgiven sinner towards God in which the divine displeasure rests upon him. It is evident that in this sense salvation is identical with the proximate object of the atonement. It is the negative statement of what is positively described by such terms as forgiveness and reconciliation. But now the fact appears that this is not the ordinary Scriptural sense of the word. The forgiven sinner is, in Scriptural language, justified but not yet saved. The proximate effect of the atonement is given in Paul's words, "Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." It will not express the same truth, if in place of the word "justified" we insert "saved." The unpleasant sense of a misapplied term which jars upon us when we hear some Christian of greater zeal than discrimination declare himself "a saved man" is justified by Scriptural usage. It is evident, therefore, that to use the word "salvation" in this sense in our discussions of the atonement is to open the way for grave ambiguities and misunderstandings.

It is even more needful that we should come to a distinct understanding respecting the term "punishment." For we have to do here not merely with the different uses of a Scriptural expression, but with the contents of one of the most important ethical conceptions with which theology is concerned. We ask, then, in the next place, what are the constituent elements of punishment? We begin with what is external, namely, those consequences of sin which in the divine constitution of the world are connected with it by natural law. The worlds of freedom and necessity are so adjusted to each other that moral disturbance in the former brings to the author of it physical disturbance and pain out of the latter. In this category of external punishments are included those bodily sufferings which follow in the track of sin, as well as the mental and moral degeneration which it produces, and finally physical death, the universal punishment. And here we are to bear in mind the fact that men are bound together in the organic unity of the race, so that many of these consequences reach much farther than the guilty individual. There are common sufferings in which all share. There is a common death which all are called to endure. In Adam all die. Innocent and guilty alike, the babe without the knowledge of good and evil and the hardened sinner,

are partakers of this common woe, heirs of this universal heritage of evil. It matters not whether we give to these common sufferings the name of punishment; certainly they stand in the closest connection with it as the natural consequences of sin. But there is a deeper element in punishment. The wrath of God is revealed against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men. The inmost core and essence of punishment is the divine displeasure resting upon the guilty soul as a personal burden and finding its seat in the reproaches and disquietude of a guilty conscience. It is this that turns the fairest scenes of earth into a prison, and of itself would "make a hell of heaven." It is true that the natural law of which we have just spoken is itself an energizing of the divine displeasure in the world, a kind of objective or externalized wrath of God. But this is the displeasure of a present God, whose Spirit meets the sinful human spirit in a personal energy of disapproval, lashing the conscience with the whips of remorse. We pass from it to the last sense in which the term punishment is employed. The punishment of consequence and the punishment of personal divine displeasure find their full meaning in that final separation from God which is the result of the last judgment. Future or eternal punishment, the second death, marks the highest reach of the tide of divine wrath. It is the doom which befalls the soul that deliberately and definitively resists the strivings of the Holy Spirit.

We have here, then, three, not to say four, kinds of punishment or elements in punishment. There is first the punishment of natural consequence, to which we may perhaps add the common or race punishment, though it is an open question whether the latter is properly so designated. Then we have the essential punishment in the personal displeasure of God witnessed to by conscience. Finally, there is future punishment. Now from which of these elements of punishment does the atonement deliver the believer? Not from sufferings and death. Christ says to his disciples; "In the world ye shall have tribulation." Without a miracle God could not make it otherwise. The law of nature must take its course. The drunkard does not, by reformation, procure deliverance from his enfeebled constitution. The character that has been deteriorated by evil passions and vile imaginings is not made of a sudden pure by the acceptance of Christ; it will be the struggle and pain of the new life to overcome these evils by the help of the Holy Spirit. The death of Christ does not deliver us from the necessity of physical death. Suffering and remaining

sin are enemies that will be fully overcome only in the sequel of the Christian life; the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death, and that not till Christ's second coming. It is true that these things lose their character as punishment, and become the chastisement of a loving Father. But however the name may be changed, the things themselves are not removed out of our way. Neither does the atonement, directly at least, deliver us from future punishment. The question may fairly be raised whether those who actually become believers on Christ have ever at any time rested under the doom of eternal punishment, since the New Testament seems to lay that extreme sentence only upon those who have finally and irremediably rejected Christ. But waiving that question, eternal punishment lies in the far future, beyond death and the judgment, and the atonement, when accepted by faith, does its work in the present. Deliverance from future punishment may be a certain sequence of the atonement for those who believe, but like the heavenly life it comes hereafter, and not now, as the proximate effect of the atonement should come.

There remains the second use of the term. And in this we find the true, and the only true, application of the word "punishment" to the proximate object of the atonement. That which is deepest, most essential, most personal, in punishment is removed by the atonement. The divine displeasure is withdrawn. It no longer stands in the way of the divine love. The Father smiles upon his child. There is peace with God. The relation of guilt gives way to reconciliation. This is the meaning of the forgiveness of sins. It is not remission of outward penalty or of future doom. It is the removal of the divine displeasure and the peace of a pardoned soul. Conscience no longer raises its condemning voice. If our hearts condemn us, God is greater than our hearts and knoweth all things. It is easy to see how, when this central core of punishment is gone, the consequences of old sin lose their penal character and are gradually worked off and finally made to disappear by the new life of God's Spirit. Even death is no longer death, for the sting of death is sin, unforgiven sin; and by the resurrection of Christ our resurrection is assured.

There is, then, one sense and one only in which the proximate object of the atonement is to deliver us from punishment. But how seldom in the discussions of this subject is the fact clearly recognized. All the old theories and most of the modern ones by ambiguity and lack of clear thought here bring their statements into a well-nigh hopeless obscurity. And the question arises, whether

inasmuch as this is not the most common and popular conception of punishment, and inasmuch as the Scriptures themselves do not ordinarily use that term in describing it, it would not be wiser to drop the phraseology altogether, and use the simpler and more intelligible theological terms, forgiveness of sins, reconciliation, and the like. But whatever we do, let us when we argue theologically be sure of the sense in which we employ our terms.

IV. Another most important line of inquiry concerns the conception of atonement itself. With regard to the term there need and ought to be no difference of opinion, in spite of the ambiguity with which it is used by men of the school of Schleiermacher and Maurice. Undoubtedly atonement was originally synonymous with reconciliation, as the ordinarily accepted etymology suggests; but both in popular usage and in theology it has lost that meaning and come to signify something leading the way to reconciliation. There seems to be no excuse for using it in any other sense. The theological doctrine of the atonement may be false, but its falsity does not lie in a misapplication of the word atonement.

What is needed here is a deeper grounding in Scripture and natural ethics of the nature and need of atonement. In its common and simplest meaning, atonement implies some wrong done by one person to another, and a state of estrangement or alienation resulting from that wrong; and the atonement itself is some reparation given, some amends made, some satisfaction rendered, some making good of the wrong furnished, by the wrong-doer to the wronged. This atonement opens the way for reconciliation. It affords the basis for and the justification of reconciliation. It is not the same as punishment, and therefore is to be distinguished from expiation, which always involves the idea of a penalty suffered. Atonement is made by the wrong-doer himself, or in his name; punishment is inflicted upon him. Atonement opens the way for reconciliation; punishment leaves the estrangement just as it was. Atonement derives its value from the right disposition of the heart; punishment implies an obdurate and rebellious heart. In many cases atonement and punishment altogether exclude each other, so that if there has been a full atonement for wrong there need be no punishment, punishment only becoming necessary where atonement has failed, or a mild and disciplinary punishment being employed as a motive to atonement. There is, however, this remarkable relation between the two to be noted, that often where a just punishment is borne patiently and in full acknowledgment of its justice, with sorrow for the wrong-doing

and earnest purpose of betterment, this bearing of punishment may itself become the highest kind of atonement. A little observation, however, shows that in this case it is not the punishment which atones, but the spirit with which it is borne, and that by the very fact of thus being borne the punishment loses its character as punishment and becomes simply chastisement or discipline.

But the standing objection to the doctrine of the atonement consists in the denial of its necessity as a precondition of forgiveness or reconciliation. It is claimed that it is the high prerogative of love to furnish forgiveness freely and without reparation, that no attribute is higher in man or in God than that mercy which accepts and restores the returning sinner and asks no satisfaction save that of an answering love. The familiar words of the great dramatist, which seem almost to breathe the spirit of inspiration, are quoted : —

“The quality of mercy is not strained ;
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath.”

We are told of the forgiveness the parent accords to the penitent child, and are pointed to the Saviour's sublime parable of the Prodigal Son. This objection cannot be brushed away with a simple denial. It needs a careful and most patient hearing. If it be true, the doctrine of an objective atonement disappears or is retained merely verbally, while in fact a wholly different formula is substituted for it. If we are to meet this objection, we must show by a careful examination of ethical facts that atonement is the universal law of the moral universe, wherever it has been entered by sin, — in the relations of men to each other, in the family, society, the state ; in the relations of man to God ; and in the wider relations of other intelligent beings to each other and to God. Now, in order to do this, it will be necessary to go deeper down into the meaning of atonement than we ordinarily go. If it be chiefly a matter of outward actions, such as a giving of satisfaction through the performance of some penance or the display of some outward sorrow or humiliation, or if it be made merely the bearing of suffering, as suffering, to satisfy some assumed sense of vindictive justice in the one wronged, the objectors are undoubtedly in the right. As between their view and the low and external notion of atonement which prevails in many minds and is characteristic of heathen religions and formal Christianity, we should have but little hesitation in choosing. But if it can be shown that there is a higher and vastly profounder view of atonement, the whole state of

the question is changed. If it be true that atonement is primarily a matter of the heart, including an inward making good of wrong, an acknowledgment of sin, a recognition of justly incurred displeasure, a purpose of better things, a reparation in feeling and will for the injury done, — then we may say without qualification, and prove our assertion by abundant examples, that atonement is a necessity of God's moral universe. The parent does not forgive his child who has broken the law of the home until the little one has made atonement in sorrow and acknowledgment of wrong. The obstinate, hardened heart he cannot forgive. In spite of all formal remission of punishment, there remains estrangement and separation; and a forgiveness that is worth anything must be a reconciliation. If in the legal sphere this is less evident, it is because the law of society has to do chiefly with outward acts and cannot penetrate to the purpose of the heart. And yet even here, in provisions for mercy, and mitigations of punishment, and amnesties of the executive, there is abundant evidence that a true atonement may take the place of punishment. And the Bible, in all its parts, teaches no other truth. God does not forgive out of hand. Even in the parable of the Prodigal Son, there is atonement in the confession of sin, the recognition of unworthiness, the purpose of seeking pardon, the desire to become as a hired servant. That men in their relations to God are represented as able to make a sufficient atonement I do not assert, but it seems plain that the principle is everywhere maintained, however imperfectly carried out in practice. And this, altogether apart from the Old Testament sacrificial system, which derives its whole significance from this fundamental and far-reaching law. Moreover, in the so-called religions of nature the existence of sacrificial rites and of ideas and practices involving the conception of atonement is a proof how deep-seated in human nature this principle is, even though it may lead, apart from divine revelation, to misconceptions and abuses.

In truth, a deeper study and better understanding of this subject of atonement will show that those theories which confine the efficacy of Christ's death to its effect upon the hearts of men are superficial and untrue to nature. It is the universal law that atonement is necessary to reconciliation, — that law which sacrificially expressed is, "Without shedding of blood there is no remission of sin." Between man and man atonement is possible, at least in part. Between man and God it is impossible, because man cannot and will not render it, — will not, because apart from

God's grace he has no disposition to do it; and cannot, because man, held fast in that net of sin in which all humanity is entangled, has neither the understanding of his guilt nor the power of reparation and amendment necessary for an adequate atonement. Those awful words which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of the king in "Hamlet" express as truly the sinner's impotency to render atonement as inability to repent, for atonement and repentance, though very different, are yet in many cases very like:—

"What then? what rests?

Try what repentance can: what can it not?

Yet what can it when one can not repent?

O wretched state! O bosom black as death

O limed soul, that, struggling to be free,

Art more engaged!"

Sin in its relation to God is an awful thing, and the adequate atonement for it is beyond human power to render. Could the sinner see his guilt, still he could not atone for it. It is for this reason that in mercy on mankind God himself has interposed, — first in the Old Testament system, furnishing a symbolical and typical atonement; then in Christ's work, giving us in Him a perfect atonement which we in faith can make our own. The marvel of God's method is, that here is a true atonement which the wronged party furnishes to the wrong-doer in such a way that it may still be the sinner's own act, and that he may do by this divine grace what he could not by himself even take the first steps towards doing.

V. The way is prepared for alluding to another point that deserves serious attention. In the older theories of the atonement, and to no small degree in the modern discussions of the subject, man is regarded as standing in a relation to the divine law or to the divine attribute of justice rather than in direct and personal relation to God himself. And similarly, in the further working out of the doctrine, Christ is represented as making atonement for us by appeasing a law or attribute. It is a part of that deistical tendency to which theology so easily falls a prey, and which forgets the continual presence and activity of God alike in the physical and moral universe. Anything but the living personal God himself. Once forget that God himself is energizing in his justice, and we listen almost with indifference to views which turn it into the grossest injustice. Once forget that the law is but the holy will of God, coming fresh in momentarily command from his throne, and we attribute to it what we should never dare to attrib-

ute to God himself. And in like manner we separate the persons of the Trinity in our teachings of the atonement until we bring the Father and the Son into opposition with each other, and lose sight of the truth that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself.

It will be impossible to reach any adequate understanding of this great doctrine while this error clings to it. For the relation between God and man is a direct and personal one, and never more so than in this matter of sin. The true guilt of sin lies not in the fact that a law has been broken or an attribute dishonored, but that a loving and righteous Father has been treated with despite. It is the sense of a personal displeasure on the part of Him who is our life and joy and only good that gives to conviction of sin its deep, tingling shame. It is to the wronged Father we owe our amends, not merely to a precept or a principle. The law might set the sinner free, canceling every claim of punishment against him and shutting the doors of hell forever, and still there would be no completed reconciliation and no assured hope of a perfect salvation. Sin is a personal matter. "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned and done this evil in thy sight." "Father, I have sinned against heaven and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son." God's love to the sinner and burning displeasure with his sin are both intensely personal. There is an awful meaning, which no effeminate theology can ever smooth over, and no scholastic theology can ever rob of its directness of personal divine feeling, in the Scriptural assertion that "God is angry with the wicked every day." And in the work of Christ it is a personal Mediator coming between personal parties, bearing on his heart the sins and the woes of men, and pleading with his Father for their forgiveness, who speaks for men and furnishes the atonement they cannot give.

There is indeed a place for the legal in the doctrine of the atonement. But it is the subordinate, not the principal place. The legal rests on the personal, not the reverse. Until this relation is recognized, the legal analogies which have been the bane of theology, so far as our doctrine is concerned, will dominate in the theories of the atonement.

VI. There is need, also, that we reach a better understanding respecting the vicariousness of the Saviour's work. This principle finds abundant illustration in the Scriptures and in the facts of human life. It is recognized, though in the form of a merely legal substitution, in the older Protestant theology. But so deep-

seated, both in philosophy and theology, is the influence of that individualism which was the bane of the eighteenth century, and its mischievous legacy to the nineteenth, that in this doctrine, as well as in that of sin, it seems wellnigh impossible to reach any true understanding of the organic relations of humanity in their theological bearings. Nor is it really a help that modern science, or rather the popular scientific philosophy, lays so much stress upon the corporate oneness of mankind, since it accompanies its teachings on this subject with a doctrine of determinism which makes this oneness entirely a matter of physical necessity. For vicariousness is not a "natural law in the spiritual world," but rather one of the most characteristic of spiritual laws, of which there are only feeble analogies and anticipations in the lower sphere. The fact that Christ became man in the assumption of our physical nature gives us but the starting-point for his work. To look at his work as a recuperative influence penetrating in natural ways through the social tissue does not bring us up to the spiritual or even truly ethical understanding of his salvation. There is need of striking a higher key.

It is the merit of Dorner that he has so fully and satisfactorily set forth the deep-lying nature of vicariousness as a law of humanity. Those splendid sections in the doctrine of sin and of the atonement, in which he has elucidated the subject, are among the most helpful in the "*Glaubenslehre*," — that great work which has the not unprecedented fortune of being condemned most loudly by those who understand it least. Men form parts of a great ethical and spiritual organism, in which each is united to the rest, responsible for the rest, in some sense representative of the rest. The parent must think and choose and act for the child during the time of nonage. The husband and wife are a unity in which the physical relation is but the type and symbol of the higher ethical relation. The officers of government represent the people of the commonwealth. The patriot takes his country's dangers or its woes upon his heart. Men of influence speak the thought of the multitude. The good throw the mantle of their protection or their influence about the bad. In joy and sorrow, in private and public life, we do not live unto ourselves. It is hard to see what would become of literature as one of the fine arts, did not this principle furnish it with the subjects for its delineations. It is the key to that highest department of poetry, the tragic drama, opening to us the deepest meaning of a Sophocles and a Shakespeare. There is in the tragedy always some great calamity or guilt, which, in virtue

of this law, draws into its whirlpool a whole group of human beings, innocent and guilty alike. The thrilling interest of the drama lies in the interworking of the individual and the general, the way in which the gentle Ophelia is caught within the sweep of the king's guilt and her father's plots and Hamlet's deep-laid plans, and made to bear the awful sorrows of sins she has never even heard of; or the heroism and constancy of an Antigone struggling against the consequences of the crime of an *Cædipus*.

This principle of vicariousness must be understood, if we are to understand the atonement. But for its existence Christ could not have performed his saving work. By its means He has been able to accomplish a result which may perhaps have been possible only in humanity. What in the ordinary experience of life and in the tragic drama appears to be only half a matter of free-will, while for the rest men are hurried on by Providence or Fate to ends they know not of, appears in Christ a matter of voluntary and loving purpose. That He might save men, He made himself the man of men. He wrought out by temptation and suffering, by obedience and self-sacrifice, a perfect sonship in humanity in which the divine purpose for man was fulfilled, God's image realized, the Father well pleased. Winning by his perfect life, as well as by his divine nature, the right to be the second Adam, the central man of the race, He made himself the throbbing heart of its life and felt every pulse-beat. Especially, He put himself into contact with human sin. No being ever understood sin as Christ did. Let me reverently say, even the Father has never understood it as the incarnate Son. His great heart brooded over it, and in his experience he felt it in all its power. He realized as no man ever did what an awful thing it is to sin against the Father in heaven. He saw as would have been impossible even for the most gifted of sinful men the evil it has brought upon the race, and the extent to which all men and all human relations are implicated in it. He saw its relation to God's law and the moral order of his world, the consequences in human suffering and death of the working of God's punitive justice. In his contact with human sufferings, and in the sufferings which were peculiar to his own vocation, and most of all in his death, He even came in a sense, real yet not involving any personal guilt, to feel the power of that wrath of God which is directed against all sin, and from the effects of which in a world like this, where all partake of one organic life, even the guiltless cannot wholly escape. So far as was possible for a sinless being, or rather in a way and to a degree possible only for

him, the sinless Christ, our Saviour brought himself into the sinner's place. His atonement could avail for mankind because he was the Son of Man, the Head of humanity, whom God sent into the world to be the Atoner of human sin, and who by his own holy effort had won the right to act for all men. In this representative capacity, the Head acting for the members, He rendered to God the atonement that was due.

And so the atonement was itself vicarious. What man himself ought to have done, yet could not do, the Saviour did. By God's own appointment He stood before God as our substitute. The sinner who accepts Him to-day may claim, in virtue of the faith which unites him to the Saviour, that he was crucified with Christ. If one died for all, then all died. His atonement was humanity's atonement, and every believer may present it to God as his own perfect sacrifice.

Yet let us be clear in our own minds here. There are two kinds of substitution possible. The one is that of the earlier theology, substitution in punishment; the Holy One takes our "law place," our guilt and liability to punishment are imputed to him, the punishment that is due to us or its equivalent in suffering falls upon Him, and the sinner goes free. The other kind is substitution in atonement; the Saviour does something which it is impossible for the sinner to render, makes the amends which God's holiness requires, that so the love of God, which from the first has yearned after the sinner, may become a reconciled love and bring the sinner into that holy life of sonship which of itself is the negation of all punishment. Substitution in punishment and substitution in atonement are not the same thing. And yet they are so closely related that it is needful, in order that we may see our way clearly to choose between them, for us to examine more closely the fact which furnishes their common groundwork.

VII. We are brought, then, to consider more carefully the death of Christ as an element in the atonement. That it furnishes in a preëminent sense the subject-matter of the doctrine we have seen already. The most superficial reading of the New Testament is sufficient to show how it stands out in sharply outlined prominence as the great atoning fact. It seems strange that in so many of our modern theories the death of Christ falls to such an extent into the background, becoming a mere incident in his redemptive career, or made a matter of altar forms and sacrificial phraseology. The doctrine of the atonement that is based upon the simple teaching of the Bible cannot possibly ignore what is most

prominent in the thought of the sacred writers. It is here that it is most closely interlinked with their teachings respecting sin, that inseparable correlate of redemption. If there is anything that distinguishes the Bible from all other books that were ever written, it is its doctrine of death in its relation to sin; and the point of most vital importance in the Scripture teachings respecting the atonement is the fact that the Son of God and Son of Man suffered death.

What is the Bible doctrine of death from Genesis to Revelation? It is that it is the divinely ordained consequence of human sin, the curse that has fallen upon the race and every individual of the race. How it came into the world as the punishment of Adam's sin, the opening chapters of the Old Testament tell us. The teaching of the Law and the Prophets is summed up in the solemn words, "The soul that sinneth it shall die." The New Testament reiterates the doctrine: "The wages of sin is death." "Through one man sin entered into the world, and death through sin; and so death passed unto all men, for that all sinned." "In Adam all die." Death is the common curse, the universal consequence of human sin. It falls upon innocent and guilty alike, since all are alike bound together in that organic oneness of which we have already spoken. In so far as punishment is external suffering consequent upon sin, without reference to the question whether it be personal sin or another's sin, we may call death the common punishment of the race. There is even a sense in which we may say that the displeasure of God against a sinful race is objectivized in death, and falls upon all who suffer it, even in a sense upon the babe that has no knowledge of good and evil and has never sinned. And what is in this sense a common punishment becomes a personal punishment, involving the complete idea of punishment in the case of those who by sinful act have entered into the fellowship of human sin. To them it is the direct channel of the divine displeasure. To every unforgiven sinner death is in the deepest and most awful sense a punishment, and every disease and every pain, all the physical and mental sufferings which are the heralds of death, are in like manner the signs of the personal displeasure of God. While the pleasures of the world and life itself last, sin has not worked out its proper result. God maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain upon the just and unjust. But in suffering, and most of all in death, God puts the sinner from him. The spiritual breach between the Creator and the sinful creature becomes a physical

breach. And so physical death looks back to spiritual death and forward to the second and eternal death, — the former the state of the soul in sin as practically separated from God, the latter the awful final separation when the wrath of God abideth upon the rebellious sinner.

It was essential to the Mediator's atoning work that He should suffer death. Thus it behooved the Christ to suffer. That the divine Son should become the sinless Son of man, and as the vicar at once of God and man should endure the divinely ordained consequence of human sin, was necessary, in order that God might be just and the sinner's justifier. It was by passing through the awful event which is the standing witness and realization of God's displeasure with human sin, and by this only, that the true and complete atonement to God could be made in behalf of the human race. It is true that death was in a sense an incident in his career, that having become man he was subject to it like other men, that it lay in the path that led to his perfecting as the Saviour. But it was more than this. He became incarnate that He might die, and He died that He might by so doing make atonement to God for the sin of men. He tasted death for every man.

And it was significant that He died precisely the death He did. It was not a common death, but the cruel death of the cross. For God has given human sin the awful power to wrest as it were the sword out of the hands of the almighty Judge and use it in mockery of the divine justice. That the dreadfulness of human sin might be revealed, the Jewish rulers and the Roman governor were permitted to bring about the death of Christ. In the tragedy of redemption the God-man is caught in the sweep of human sin and suffers death at the hands of those He came to save. It was all needful, that the measure of sin might be filled full, that the sinner's Saviour might know the depth and fearfulness of human guilt. Yet the death inflicted upon Christ thus unjustly and before the time was nevertheless the death which God had made the common consequence of the sins of the race, and in a true sense in his sufferings it pleased the Father to bruise him.

But did the Saviour bear our punishment? We are prepared now to answer this question with due discrimination. The theory of substitution by punishment asserts that the very punishment which is due the sins of every sinner, or else its precise equivalent, was endured by Christ. His divine nature is made to intensify the sufferings of body and mind He endured, until an infinite penalty is paid for the sins of the countless millions of

mankind. It is easy to show the inconsistencies and ethical difficulties of this view. The old Socinian objections to it have never been answered, and its attempt to base itself upon the teachings of Scripture is a lamentable failure. And yet there is an element of truth in it which we are too ready, in our reaction from it, to throw away. The distinctions already made between the different factors in the conception of punishment enable us to discern a sense in which Christ did bear our punishment. Not in any quantitative way. Not in the sense of bearing the personal displeasure of God. Still less in the sense of tasting that eternal death which is reserved only for him who deliberately rejects God's offers of mercy. But in so far as suffering and death are the external punishment of sin, the curse resting upon a sinful race, Christ did enter into the fellowship of our punishment and bear it with us and for us. The cup which He was ready to drink and the baptism which He was ready to be baptized with were the doom which is the objectivization of God's wrath against mankind. The question whether or not we shall use the word "punishment" is an unimportant one, so long as we see in the death of Christ an enduring with and for men of that judgment which has fallen upon all men. Only thus could He make the atonement which was God's due. And in so doing I am ready even to believe that He came into contact with the divine displeasure in all its awful reality, not as a displeasure against himself, which would be absurd, but as a displeasure resting with fearful power on those with whom He had identified himself, and whom He had come to save. He felt it as the wife who shares the prison cell of a condemned husband feels the weight of his punishment and the just displeasure of society.

And let us bear in mind what has been affirmed at an earlier point in this paper, that the punishment which Christ bears — if we allow the term "punishment" in this sense — is not a punishment from which He saves us. Atonement, as the New Testament teaches it, does not save the forgiven sinner from suffering and death. But in the deepest sense they are no longer punishment. For that which is the true essence of punishment, the divine displeasure, is gone. Death remains. But death has lost its sting and its victory. Substitution by punishment aims at saving from future punishment. Substitution in atonement aims at transforming present punishment into the Father's loving discipline. Christ, by himself becoming subject to death, has delivered them who through the fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage.

VIII. There is still another point with regard to which clear and intelligent thought is of the greatest importance. We must face the question whether it is possible to penetrate further into the meaning of Christ's atoning death, or whether it must be left an impenetrable mystery. Why was the death of Christ atoning? What was there in the enduring of this penal consequence of sin that has secured forgiveness for believers? What did God see in this particular work of the well-beloved Son that made Him assume a new attitude towards mankind, an attitude of reconciliation? Why did the love of God, seeking the sinner's salvation, devise this method of the God-man's self-sacrifice upon the cross? These are deep questions. Who will say that we can answer them with any fullness? If anywhere the silence of faith is wise, it might seem to be here. And yet the atonement is not represented in the New Testament as a mystery in the heathen sense, that is, as a marvel that has no solution; but as a mystery in the apostolic sense of a long-hidden truth now once for all revealed. Is there no answer to our questions? Is there no simple principle of divine and human ethics which shall give us the key to this transcendent fact? Surely it is worth our while to see. Because theories have been advanced which are satisfying neither to our reason nor to our moral sense, theories wholly artificial and theories that fall far short of the requirements of the case, there is no reason why we should go to the opposite extreme of relinquishing our search after the true meaning of the atonement. Let us strive for all the light God has to give us.

We return to the conception of atonement. Between man and man the true atonement is a moral and personal proceeding. We have seen how different are atonement and punishment. And yet we have seen how close is the relation between atonement and punishment, how when the sufferings which follow in the track of wrong are borne with submission and acknowledgement of their desert, with sorrow for the wrong and desire for pardon and purpose of right living thereafter, this in itself may be the truest atonement and transform the suffering from punishment into a means of reconciliation. For there is no moral value in sufferings simply as sufferings. You can whip a dog till he feels as keen a physical pain as a man. We feel as deep mental anguish often over our mistakes that have hurt our pride as over our sins. It is the spirit in which suffering is endured that gives it its ethical significance. It is the humble and contrite heart that is the true sacrifice.

Christ is our substitute in atonement. He renders for man the atonement man cannot render for himself. That He might do this it was essential that He should die, for death is the common doom, the awful birthright of man the sinner. In all points He must be made like unto his brethren, and his likeness to them in death has the meaning of participation in the universal curse. But if this had been all, there would have been no atonement. Death is no more atoning than any other suffering. Otherwise pardon would come to all men without Christ, for all men die. Sufferings, in and of themselves, whether physical or mental, add no new element to the case. The divinely-human personality of the Saviour is no infinite multiplier to give his sufferings and death an infinite value. He might have suffered and died, if that were all, and still there would have been no atonement.

Christ was our vicar, our substitute. Why should the atonement the substitute renders for his race be different in kind from the atonement which the members of the race must render when they wrong each other, or which they ought to render to God himself, if it were only in their power? Why find a mystery, where the simple explanation seems to lie so near at hand? If in the common conception of atonement all turns upon the spirit in which the suffering of wrong-doing is borne, why shall we not find in the sufferings and death of Christ, vicariously endured for men, the same meaning? Of course we shall not expect an absolute identity in the two cases. Substitution, from its very nature, implies a difference. The substitute must be different from those for whom he acts, if he is to do what they cannot do. There must be a sense in which his act is not theirs, but only a substitute for theirs. The sinner dies deserving death; Christ dies undeservingly. The sinner is under the personal wrath of God; Christ was even in the agony of the cross the beloved Son in whom He was well pleased. The sinner must repent; Christ had no sin and could repent neither personally nor vicariously, for repentance does not fall into the category of vicarious actions. But, admitting all the elements in which the atonement of our vicar is different from the atonement which is due from us or, in other words, in which it is a substitute for our atonement, still no reason appears why it should be different in kind. The spirit and the purpose with which Christ bore that death which is the consequence of sin gave it its value as an atonement.

Here is our substitute upon the cross. God so loved the world that He sent his Son to make the atonement. God is in Christ

reconciling the world unto himself. The Holy One took human flesh upon Him and went through all the weary way of earthly toil and suffering, that He might be in all things like his brethren and become their true and acknowledged representative and substitute before God, their merciful and faithful high-priest in things pertaining to God, to make propitiation for the sins of the people. Not merely by divine appointment and community of nature, but by that perfected sonship to God and fellowship to his brethren which were wrought out in his holy life, He is the Son of man, the Central Man, in whom the redeemed and holy race has begun, and in whom the whole race of God's lost children find their sinless head and spokesman. Human sin is concentrated upon Him; God makes Him to be sin who knows no sin. He endures the pangs of death. But what generations have suffered in sin, paying the penalty of their evil-doing, He suffers holily for his brethren. What others have suffered with hearts bearing still in them the stains and perversity of sin, He suffers with love to God and love to man. His will is at one with God, his spirit is the spirit of perfect sonship, of filial submission to the Father's will and patient endurance of its discipline. Here is Man holy in death instead of man sinful in death, the One who stands for all. And more than that, here is the Son of man, whose heart has become the heart of humanity, whose mouth speaks the true word of man, making acknowledgment of the justice of that divine displeasure that visits sin with punishment, interceding for mercy and holding up in his own perfect sonship and hard-won spiritual power over men the pledge of a new and holy race. This is what God sees coming to Him out of sinful humanity, out of the suffering of death. What atonement could there be like this? All the conditions of the case are satisfied. God furnishes the atonement. Man renders it. God accepts it for all who join themselves to Christ in faith. The Saviour is exalted to God's right hand. The Holy Spirit is given to Him. He makes it his work to bring men to accept his mercy. They who believe are forgiven, and, united with Christ, are finally made perfect, saved unto the uttermost.

A single sentence tells the simple story. The atonement of Christ is his vicarious bearing of death in holy submission to God and acknowledgment of his just wrath against human sin. Christ does for us what we ought to do, but cannot do. He makes the amends we cannot make, the satisfaction that is beyond our power. We make it ours by accepting Christ. Through Him

we are reconciled to God. There is no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus, for He has made full atonement for them.

There is still enough of mystery left in the atonement. Into the secret of the Saviour's consciousness we cannot enter. In what words or by what thoughts deeper than words He made good to the Father our wrong against Him, we cannot tell. There is truth hidden under the maxim of the old theologians that sin is an infinite evil. Certainly it is an evil beyond our present power to comprehend, and only the Son of man, who sounded its fearful depths to the bottom, could make that satisfaction to the Father we have wronged which is his due.

Along the line of such investigations as these seems to me to lie the successful solution of the problem of the atonement, so far as that problem is an open one to the theologian. I do not claim to have done the great subject more than the scantest justice in this hasty sketch. There are undoubtedly other points of view from which it might be regarded. There are other elements of the doctrine which need a more searching investigation and analysis. The object of this discussion has been only, as the title intimates, to furnish some of the data of the doctrine of the atonement. To others belongs the task of supplementing their defects and bringing the whole into the unity of a consistent theory.¹

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¹ It may be right to say that, so far as this article may be regarded as presenting a theory of the atonement, my obligations should be expressed to the discussions of the atonement in Sartorius's *Doctrine of Holy Love*, Martensen's *Christian Dogmatics*, Nitzsch's *System der Christlichen Lehre*, Van Oosterzee's *Christian Dogmatics*, Dorner's *Glaubenslehre*, and especially to the articles of Gess and Weizsäcker in the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, vols. ii.-iv.

EDITORIAL.

THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE FUNCTION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH.

It is not proposed to introduce through this subject a study in ecclesiasticism. We have no present contention for or against the polity of any church, provided its working principle is ample and elastic, equal to the capacity of the church and to its opportunity. The chief motive of the subject lies in the personal conviction of the writer, partly the result of experience in the pastorate, partly the result of a somewhat extended observation, that many of our larger communities, viewed as fields for religious work, are underworked for want of a sufficient equipment on the part of the local church; and this notwithstanding the fact that in some of these communities the ministry is overworked, and the communities themselves are overstocked with churches. One very quickly learns under careful observation that the multiplicity of sects, or even of churches, does not secure thoroughness in the working of a given field. Sects, it has been said, are like circles: the more circles you describe upon a surface, the more spaces you have between. The comparison is ingenious, and as comparisons go, it is truthful. A great many individuals do fall between religious organizations. The unorganized, the unattached population of a city is no inconsiderable factor in its religious life; and the amount of this kind of life is not appreciably lessened by the multiplication of churches. A church in distinction from a mission is usually established because a sufficient number of positively religious people demand its establishment. They demand it sometimes from differing conviction in respect to truth, sometimes from considerations of mere convenience, as through the claims of a neighborhood. A new church seldom makes any large inroad upon what are known as non-attendants.

Assume a New England community of fifty thousand souls, and make the proper reduction for those of the Roman Catholic faith. Within the available Protestant population there will be four or five, hardly more, strong churches among the different denominations, and a much larger number of weaker churches, some of them just above, others just below the line of self-support. Beyond these, or between these, lies the unorganized, unattached mass to which reference has been made, to the number of from two thousand to five thousand. This mass is made up of entirely unrelated life. The individuals who compose it have nothing in common except the negative fact that they are non-church-attendants. They have not been drawn within that centripetal movement which forms churches. The two or three ruling motives which might be supposed to impel them toward the church are neutralized and dissipated by those smaller motives which are often decisive in securing negative results. Yet these people are in no respect inaccessible by Christianity; they are

not hostile to the church. Probably few of them would be found in the audiences which attend upon Mr. Ingersoll, or if found there, would be found as readily in the audiences which attend upon Mr. Moody. Occasions serve to bring them out. An evening service, of a popular nature, will often show a congregation quite as large as that of the morning, but distinct from it, and distinct from that which habitually worships in any church. Now such a congregation virtually represents a parish; it is in numbers and in opportunity the equivalent of a parish. That is a small city which cannot show such a parish of souls. And we are to remember who and what the people are who make up this outlying parish. They are for the most part such as would cause a foreign missionary to thank God and take courage; such as would gladden the heart of a minister on the frontier. But they do not constitute the material out of which alone a church can be organized. The attempts which have been made to gather these people by themselves into halls for popular services, with a view to their organization into churches, have usually proved failures.

Who now can minister to this parish or to these parishes lying adjacent to the churches? What agency is capable of working this field? Evidently this is not the field of the mission chapel. Neither is it the field of the weaker church. The causes, whatever they may be, which operate to make a church weak will certainly prevent its growth in this direction. The churches which most need these people are the churches which cannot reach them. Only the stronger churches can accomplish any considerable ministry in behalf of the unattached masses. These alone have resources, the enthusiasm of numbers, the advantage of assured strength. But, so far as we know, there is not a Congregational church in such a community as has been described fully equipped for a successful ministry in one of these outlying parishes of from five hundred to one thousand souls. There are churches which have missions, and which provide for them, often through actual pastoral work. We have found no corresponding provision made for the people lying alongside our churches and yet without. We grant the increased difficulties of the problem, chiefly of classifying and locating those who are to be reached. But these difficulties are in part obviated by the ease with which the unattached masses can be drawn into our churches, and so identified in person and by families. During the past months a most noticeable movement has been going on in some of the churches of New England in the form of a popular Sabbath evening service. The result has been, when the right effort has been put forth and when the conditions have been favorable, that the churches have been filled, in some cases thronged, with non-church-goers. Why, then, it may be asked, is not their case met? Why are not these churches really fulfilling the ministry which is called for? We answer, a crowd is not a congregation, and a congregation is not of necessity a church. A Sabbath evening audience made up of absolutely unrelated life is in point of numbers a parish, but it lacks all the conditions which are favorable to the development of the individual religious life. For the

accomplishment of anything permanent, there must be the most painstaking and continuous pastoral work. Preaching of itself can secure few results. The parable of the sower applies with exact suggestion at this point. The sowing was of no avail where the conditions of soil were unfavorable, but of the conditions mentioned in the parable there was not one which could not be changed. That which lay, under one sowing, in the beaten path, the wayside soil, might before the next sowing be ploughed up and guarded from the foot of man; then it would be good ground. The thin, shallow soil, hardly covering the ledgy rock, might be deepened, filled up, till it could give strength of root, then it would be good ground. And the soil possessed of thorns might be dispossessed of them, then it would be good ground. Not one condition is mentioned in the parable which might not be changed. And the hope of future harvests lay in the changing of the soil quite as much as in the casting of the seed. In the communities of which we are now speaking the conditions of life must be changed if the truth is to become operative; according to the analogy of the parable, they can be changed, and the work which effects this change is pastoral work. Families must be visited, and revisited. Individuals must be studied in the influences which most directly affect them, in their work, their associations, their reading, their amusements. It must first be known, and in a more satisfactory way than through a canvass, why people do not attend church, and then counter-acting influences must be brought to bear upon them.

But for this work of detail the pastorate of a large church is manifestly insufficient. The work of the pastor in his own field is always sadly in arrears. No pastor is ever satisfied with what he is able to accomplish within his prescribed limits in the cure of souls. The church, acting through committees, is an inadequate and, from the nature of the case, an unreliable force. In some churches work through organization has already been carried to the extreme. The machinery acts under increasing friction.

What then can be done? The question is becoming more imperative, while the churches are discussing it. Our large village communities are fast changing into city communities, not in number simply, but in idea. All the disintegrating influences which are peculiar to the city, especially those which affect the family and the Sabbath, are beginning to operate in the average town. It is becoming easier every year for a man in any community to occupy his Sabbath in some other way than through church attendance. Formerly the church of the village commanded its life. This was the distinction of the New England village church. The distinction of the church of the city is that it is one of many claimants for the life which surges about it.

The answer which we propose to the question is suggested in the form of our subject, and explains the terms in which we have stated it. There are two systems under which the Christian church is capable of extension, through which it may increase its activities and multiply its

agencies. According to one system the ministry is the unit, and increased demands upon the church are met by multiplying the orders of the ministry. This is the method illustrated, for example, in the history of the Episcopal Church. According to the other system the local church is the unit, and increased demands upon the church at large are met by the enlargement of the functions of the local church. This is the method illustrated in the working of the Congregational churches. Of course we are not now concerned, in this contrast of systems, with any other question than that of administration. This is the point at which modern civilization is testing the two systems. It confronts each with great masses of men at the centres of population, and tries each in its power to deal with accumulated life. The church is compelled to ask, under the exigencies of social life in the cities, which method works best. The majority of our readers believe, as we do, in the working power of the local church. We think that we see advantages in this matter of administration which belong to a church acting in its single unity, and as a complete organism. But we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the system which is able to work through long-established agencies and through well-defined orders in the ministry is in some respects better equipped at present to meet the demands of an increasing population in the larger communities. Episcopacy is gaining upon Presbyterianism in New York city, not because of the social drift, but because it is better organized, uses more men, occupies more points, and avails itself of more methods. The mission now in operation throughout the city under the auspices of the Episcopal Church shows the reach and the versatility of its power. The same relative gains are noticeable, and for the same reasons, in some of the growing towns of the East. Where a Congregational church of large membership and of commanding position employs one man, the Episcopal church by its side is employing two or three, and not altogether, as is sometimes supposed, for the performance of its services, but for its parish work.

We advocate without reserve the use by the local church of more men in its ministry, wherever the circumstance invites the increase. Why should not a great church in a great city be an institution? Why should not its doors be open every day of the week, with services upon each day fitted to the religious wants of the people within its reach? Why should a church property of a half million or of a hundred thousand be used simply upon one day of the week, employ one minister, and supply the needs of but one or two thousand souls? Is the system, as practically carried out, an economy or a waste of means? Would business men invest the amount of capital represented in the church of the larger city and then use it to so little relative profit? And as respects the church of the smaller city, why should it not increase its force according to its material and spiritual resources and according to its opportunity? If we believe in the local church as the unit of power, rather than in the ministry, let us take the advantage of our belief, let us have the courage of

our convictions. Practically we are surrendering our working idea at the point of administration. We are giving up to the ministry what, indeed, the ministry does not ask for, but what we fear is necessary to its peace and to the harmony of the church. The failure of the old colleague system has disheartened the church in the attempt to multiply ministerial force under the same conditions. But the idea of associate labor, of labor representing different functions, is true to the genius of Congregationalism; it is a part of its history, and the recovery of the idea is, we believe, necessary to the maintenance of its relative place at the centres of population. The church of the Pilgrim and of the Puritan was sufficient in itself for all demands upon its life because it utilized the gifts of all its membership. The eldership represented all the functions which were then called for. The principle which was then declared ought to hold good under the incoming of new duties. New duties ought to create new functions, and new functions ought to be made effective through an increase in the working force of the church. If the actual membership of a church is insufficient for its larger work, or is otherwise employed, as is usually the case with the business men in its membership, let the church act through representatives. Let it invite into its membership those whom it wishes to employ for specific purposes. This it does in respect to its pastorate. It calls a man, adopts him into its life, and intrusts to him the function of preaching and pastoral visitation. Sometimes the formal expression of this act is very significant. The writer recalls with great distinctness of impression the occasion of the reception into its membership of its present pastor — then the pastor elect — by the oldest church of the Orthodox Congregational order in Boston. The reception took place a week before the installation. The senior deacon presided. The usual letter of transfer of membership was presented to the church. Then the pastor elect, referring to the fact that some years had elapsed since he had united with the church from which he had taken a letter of transfer, stated the development of his personal experience and the growth of his faith in the apprehension of Christian truth, since that time. The church then acted upon the letter and upon the statement of experience and belief. And then the pastor elect was formally received by the church through the mutual acceptance of the church covenant, the church concluding the act with the use of the benediction, assuming for the time its own priestly rights, "The Lord bless thee and keep thee. The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee and give thee peace." The simple ceremony was not only touching in the extreme, but most suggestive of the authority and capacity of the local church. Why should not the local church receive into its membership as many from the ministry as it may need for the fulfillment of its various functions? We distinctly advocate the employment of more than one minister in our larger churches, with such division of labor as may be determined upon, as a matter of economy in the use of

church property, and as necessary to the growing demands upon church life at the centres of population. Separateness in function ought in itself to secure harmony in work without recourse to the expedient of creating orders in the ministry. If two men cannot work side by side, except as one is put above the other in formal rank, then the conception of equality in the ministry is not a practical one. It gives way before the complications of associated life and work, and necessitates either a narrower range of service or a change of ecclesiastical method. We believe that with proper care, and under the pressure of a sufficient work, the local church can wisely enlarge its functions, and thus show itself able to take advantage of the great and tempting opportunities for increased usefulness in the larger communities. We have in our possession letters from some in the ministry who are seeking pastoral assistance in their work, confirming our position, and asking what can be done by the seminaries in training men to meet these new demands upon the church. The consideration of the subject suggested by this question of wider training for the ministry must be deferred to another time.

The discussion of our subject thus far applies to comparatively few churches. It has been really a discussion of the enlargement and equipment of the local church of the city. The subject itself is of general application. There are at least two functions of the local church which demand present attention, irrespective of the size of the church or of its situation. We refer to the teaching function and to the function of worship.

Without question the greatest advance which the church has made within the present generation has been in the department of instruction. The Sabbath-school in its recent growth is the largest expression of the productive power of the church. And it is but fair to say that this growth has been quickened and steadied by the system of uniform lessons now generally in use. This system has popularized Biblical study, put it upon a broader and more practical basis, and made it possible for more persons to take intelligent part in the work of instruction. It has multiplied teachers and in various ways enlarged the teaching function of the church. But it has now become a serious question, whether it has not reached the limit of its stimulating and developing power. We have no hesitation in saying that in some churches it has passed this limit and is working to the detriment of the teaching faculty. It is lessening the sense of responsibility on the part of the pastor, weakening the invention of the average teacher, and through its innumerable lesson-helps making the study of the lesson on the part of many teachers and scholars perfunctory and superficial. The root of the evil is the lesson-help. The system itself has its disadvantages, which are becoming more apparent, but many of these can be obviated, leaving the system to work on in large practical force. The lesson-help, if continued and multiplied as at present, will bring about the downfall of the system. No Sabbath-school can grow, in the quality of its work, upon instruction at second hand. The

inevitable result of prepared instruction — the better the preparation the more dangerous — is to repress originality and to retire personal investigation and study. So long as the weekly religious paper, or the Saturday evening secular paper, brings to teacher and scholar alike the lesson of the Sabbath thought out and illustrated, the study of others will be accepted by the majority in place of their own. It is idle to talk of the use of the lesson-help in distinction from its abuse. A constantly increasing number will abuse it. In 1642 a book of helps for preachers, "Skeletons and Sketches," was published at Amsterdam with the honest motto on its title-page, — "Sleep without Anxiety." The hasty recourse on Sabbath morning, in so many homes, to the help for the teacher suggests the composure which this kind of literature is begetting in the minds of many teachers. Teaching, like preaching, is effective as it is responsible and within fair limits original. The lesson-help is affecting the originality and the responsibility of teaching. The heroic remedy for this relief, or supplanting of the teaching function of the local church, is to cut loose from the system. Not a few churches will, we predict, adopt this remedy in self-defense. Some will discover that they can do better work for themselves, — work, that is, better adapted to their needs, and to their capacity. We recall an instance in which a church, through its pastor and Sabbath-school superintendent, laid out a course of Biblical study for itself for a term of years, and prepared each year a question book with two grades of questions upon opposite pages, one for adults and one for children. The course necessitated, as it stimulated, careful study and investigation on the part of the church. It developed a full, constant, and earnest teachers' meeting. Gradually it brought the congregation in large numbers into the Sabbath-school, and resulted finally in a definite spiritual awakening in the church and congregation. Probably the majority of churches are disposed to underestimate their capacity for original work. Others doubtless will be held back from independent action by the argument for uniformity, though this argument will have less and less force if the results do not justify it. Uniformity is easily gained at too great a cost. It is better that each church should do its best than that all should act alike. Uniformity is not necessary to unity. Methods may differ in the interest of the larger and richer life. It may be possible, as we have intimated, to retain the system of uniform lessons, and maintain the teaching function of the church in its integrity, but not, we are convinced, if the church is to succumb to the aid of the lesson-help. The lesson-help is fast ceasing to be a stimulus to the true study of the Scriptures, and is becoming a substitute and relief. And it is endangering the system which supports or tolerates it to the same degree in which it is weakening the teaching power of the church.

We have discussed in earlier numbers of the Review the development of the function of worship. We refer now to the subject, to note the danger of secularizing this function. Secularism in worship may be said to be the danger of the non-liturgical churches, as ritualism is the

danger of the liturgical churches. And the channel through which secularism most easily invades worship is the music of the church. Where there is a division between church and society in the management of affairs, and especially if there is any jealousy between the two, the music is relegated to the society. A music committee is made up out of members of the society who are not members of the church, and not infrequently the money for the choir is raised outside the ordinary revenues of the church. The tendency is to make the whole affair a pecuniary transaction. Those who pay for the music of the service wish to see a full return for their investment. As a result, the morning service is apt to be crowded with musical exercises, often little better than performances, while the other services of the day and week are left to take the chance of the musical culture of the congregation. We have no desire to put any restriction upon the rights of the society under the New England parish system. We believe that its rights should be fully honored; but why this distinction between the music and preaching, if it is not conceded that the music is a secular element in worship? The danger lies in the low estimate which is placed by the church itself upon music as a spiritual part of its worship, and the danger will not be removed until the estimate is changed. Worship as expressed in music is too sacred a thing to be intrusted either to an unsympathetic choir or to an untrained congregation. God is not worshiped by unspiritual performers, neither is He worshiped by careless, indifferent, and unskilled believers. Congregational singing, when introduced as a mere economy, or as a substitute for true musical expression, is not worship. • We submit that it is time for the church to do more than to criticise the choir. Faultfinding is a confession of weakness. The choir is at best an instrument, and if at any time it assumes an unnatural prominence in worship, the fact is due to the helplessness or ignorance of the congregation. We look for relief, in the present helpless condition of so many of our churches, to those who are seeking to illustrate the proper function of music in the service of the sanctuary. The better organists and musical directors are beginning to educate the churches in the idea of church music. If left to their own choices, they will elevate musical taste and develop musical ability in the congregation. Their artistic perceptions are of great value to the church, for true art always seeks to magnify the end, not the means. A musical performance in a church service is not artistic: it violates the first principle of good art, and a good artist knows it. In a recent conversation with one of the most successful organists and musical directors in New England, he insisted upon these two points in the rendering of the music of the service: first, that the anthem by the choir should never precede the invocation, lest the rendering of it should be used or mistaken for a performance; and second, that the hymns of the service should all be sung by the congregation, the choir leading. As the music of the church under his direction is church music, and as he has been most successful

in developing congregational singing, — he employs also a quartet and a chorus choir, — it may be stated that the present result was gained by the preparation by the pastor and organist of a hymn-book for the use of the congregation. This may not be necessary in other churches, but the principle remains that if a church is to develop the function of worship through music, it must educate itself in some way to act intelligently and with enthusiasm.

We have written these words in our zeal for the local church. If the local church is the source and unit of power, it can grow and do its work only as it enlarges and multiplies its functions. It cannot afford, in justice to the system which it represents, to evade its responsibilities, or to take refuge from them in criticism or complaint. We advocate no mere individualism, but we do plead for as much courage and originality in the administration of the local church as may enable it to take advantage of its opportunity, and to make use of its latent or undeveloped powers.

THE POPE'S ENCYCLICAL.

Just the number of years requisite, under our laws, for an infant boy to become a voter have passed since Pope Pius IX. undertook to define the relations of the Roman Church to civil governments and modern civilization. Many things have happened since the publication of the Syllabus, — for instance, the Vatican Council, the extinction of the Pope's temporal sovereignty, the defeat and humiliation of a great Roman Catholic Power, the establishment of the German Empire, and of the unity of Italy. Pius the Ninth, too, has gone, and another reigns in his stead. After patient waiting for a fitting opportunity Pope Leo XIII. speaks to some of the same questions reviewed by his predecessor. The document is too long for us to print in full, but we give a careful abstract, with a few comments: —

Notwithstanding the fact that the Church, in addition to caring for the souls of men, is able to secure greater temporal advantages for them than could be obtained without her aid, many, both in earlier and later days, have claimed that it is wise to divorce civil government from the Church. But it is clear that no better way of ruling a state has yet been found than that taught by the gospel. Man exists in society, for whose preservation authority is indispensable, and both these are derived from God. He is our Father, and those who rule should reflect his fatherly goodness and justice. His name should be adored, and religion, by which man is united to God, should be sacredly preserved. The true religion is that which Christ has instituted and intrusted to his Church. Its ends are higher than those of civil society, and it is itself "a society perfect in its kind and in its rights." It ought to be man's guide to heaven, and in its own sphere should be supreme. The apostles themselves said, "We ought to obey God rather than men."

God then has given the race in charge to two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil. Each has its own limits, and within these is superior to the other. Of necessity there must be an orderly connection between the two, and its

nature must be determined by the nature of the powers and their relative ends. To the Church belongs the care of man's spiritual welfare, to the state jurisdiction over political affairs. When civil governors and the Roman Pontiff agree to act in harmony the results are most happy. The dignity of rulers is enhanced, private virtues are fostered, and the community flourishes.

There was once a time when the state gladly recognized the authority of the gospel, and flourished under its sway. The spread of a Christian civilization over Europe, with its rich train of blessings, is largely due to religion. But "from that dreadful and deplorable zeal for revolution, which was aroused in the sixteenth century," sprang a false philosophy which spread among all classes, and has been fruitful of evils. Chief among its disturbing principles is that which asserts that all men are equal in their actions as in their birth, and independent of each other's authority; that every one is free to act and think as he pleases; that the people are the source of all power, and the state is under no responsibility to God. Hence it is claimed that all religions have equal rights so long as the social order suffers no harm, and the Catholic religion, which Christ commands to teach all nations, is debarred from its rightful work.

Where these principles prevail the civil rulers set aside the most sacred laws of the Church, claiming authority over marriage and the property of the clergy. Even where her claims are respected, it is only as a concession by the civil rulers, and in those countries where the Church retains her own rights it is claimed that the two powers must be kept separate in order that the Church may be overruled, and when she protests, and contests arise, the weaker power must commonly yield. The present conduct of public affairs aims greatly to restrict the Catholic Church. This nature teaches to be wrong. The theory which, forgetting God, places all rule in the people tends to produce sedition and constant unrest. All forms of religion are not equal before God, and a free speech and free press which disseminate thoughts contrary to virtue and truth are evil and wrong. It is a great and pernicious error to exclude the Church from education, from the laws, and from society.

Now the Romish Church clearly teaches that the source of power is from God, that sedition is irrational, that it is a crime for states to treat in the same way different religions, and that free thought and free speech are not natural rights. She likewise maintains her own right to independence as a perfect society, unamenable to the state. But, in matters of common concern, it is most desirable and proper that harmony should be preserved between the two powers. Therefore, the Church judges that no form of government is condemned so long as it conserves the state and is not repugnant to Catholic doctrine. It is also thought wise that, in certain circumstances, the people should have a share in the government. And while it is not lawful that other kinds of worship should have the same rights as the true religion, the Church will not condemn those rulers who, for wise reasons, tolerate other forms. "Indeed, the Church is wont diligently to take heed that no one be compelled against his will to embrace the Catholic faith."

On the other hand, the Church condemns that license which lifts itself against lawful government, and encourages true liberty, which guards the best interests of the people.

Therefore, men speak calumniously when they say that the Church is opposed to modern political systems, and rejects the best thoughts of the age. What is wrong she reproveth, but fresh discoveries of truth are acknowledged as gifts from God; and since the doctrines divinely intrusted to her can never

be impaired, and all fresh truth can but add to the glory of God, investigation of nature, as well as of all other departments of knowledge, is gladly encouraged. The cultivation of talent, the prosecution of the arts, the enrichment of life, are fostered, and all are directed toward the increase of virtue and the promotion of man's highest good.

Notwithstanding some states, in these days, appear to wish to depart from Christian knowledge, the Holy Church, believing "that the truth shall make you free," gives freely to the nations those things which are true. Catholic men, at "so critical a juncture of events," will easily see what are their duties in matters of opinion as well as action, and whatsoever the Roman pontiffs have handed down should be firmly held, and, when necessary, openly declared.

Now, especially concerning these things which are called "recently acquired liberties," each one must hold what the Apostolic See holds. In private affairs the demands of Christian virtue must be obeyed, even if difficult. The Church should be loved, obeyed, and honored, and her dominion extended, and the public welfare demands that Christian men should give heed to their duties as citizens, particularly so far as regards the instruction of youth in religion and true morality. In general, Catholics ought to interest themselves in every branch of public administration, although in particular cases circumstances may oblige them to hold themselves aloof. Where it is proper for them to act it is wrong to be idle, lest those who are badly disposed toward the Church should become the most powerful, and Christians should aim to infuse into all the veins of the commonwealth the virtue of the Catholic religion. It is not possible to lay down uniform rules for the furtherance of this end, but a "concord of wills should be preserved" and the bishops obeyed.

In the investigation of matters of opinion suspicion and faultfinding must be shunned, and all must understand that the Catholic profession is inconsistent with naturalism or rationalism. But there may be liberty of difference as to political matters if the Catholic faith be not wronged. Let all who write for the press keep these precepts in mind, avoiding conflicts, and seeking to preserve religion and the state, which are seriously endangered by false doctrines and evil passions.

This letter shows that the present Pope realizes that civil society is not likely to be stayed in its present gigantic development of good and evil by the voice from the Tiber. The note of power has clearly departed from the utterances of Rome. The desperate determinateness with which the theory of her indispensableness to the world is maintained, like the desperate determinateness with which certain parallel theories on the Protestant side are maintained, only shows that the time has gone by when these theories were held without straining, because the truth in them was as yet satisfied with its embodiment. The petulant scoldings of Pius and the temperate expostulations of Leo equally testify to a sense of impotency in the application of that great mediæval engine which has been under their chief charge. It cannot be otherwise in a world in which a maxim or a dogma is no longer believed merely because it has been believed, but is credited only because it can approve itself as true; the direct antithesis to the principle of Rome.

But though the time of Rome's easy strength has departed, no one can

be quite sure what treasures of convulsive strength may yet lurk within this gigantic and firm-knit organism. While mere bigotry raves incoherently about the papacy, the easy good nature of semi-rationalism, not knowing how to gauge real spiritual energies, neither respects it nor fears it sufficiently. But that is a profoundly wise warning: "The dying struggles of Rome may be terrible." And if we wait for the embodied papacy, in some great Pope, to pronounce upon itself as an outworn thing the sentence "*Judico me cremari*," we shall probably wait to the end. Providence may have even this miracle in store for the world, but we are hardly to ask for it. Yet it is of vast moment to us all whether the still mighty system is guided by zealot recklessness or by moral sanity. And it is the spirit of moral sanity which breathes in every line of this Encyclical. It is distinctively and firmly Roman Catholic. It appears to imply, though the moderate temper of Leo XIII. does not permit it to express, the theory of Boniface VIII. as to the two swords. The Christian citizen, over against the civil power, is in all matters of conscience to be guided by the voice of the Church, that is, of the priesthood, and it is the priesthood, which, like the federal judiciary over against the states, can alone determine in the last instance how far its supreme rights extend. This would seem to bring even important questions of civil policy under the control of the dogmatic conscience, and to convert the precept *nè elettori, nè eletti*, while the Pope wills, into what might be called a temporary article of faith.

But plainly the Pope does not so will. It would be hard to say which party Leo rebukes more decidedly, the Atheists or the Old Zealots. It is plain that he regards the latter as dangerous helpers of the former. He does not rise to the height of regarding the invincible consent of individual Christian conviction, Christ in each of his people, and therefore Christ in the whole of his people, as better than all formal decisions of a dictator imposed upon a passive multitude; not greatly differing in this from the lovers of ecclesiastical machinery generally. Some natural tears he sheds, but wipes them soon, over the loss of the Ecclesiastical States. But the main current of thought in the Encyclical sets strongly towards the reinforcement of universal Christianity against the imminent danger of a nerveless surrender to the rising atheistic Antichrist, who, even in our country, and much more in Europe, is beginning to signify that he holds all rights of the individual conscience, of individual life, of family life, of free religious activity, the rights of parents in the training of their children, of husbands for the protection of their wives, as mere concessions of his arbitrary pleasure, subject at any time to the rude intrusions of his public policy. Things are said and done, and that often with the loud applause of Christian men and teachers, the remote, but wholly conceivable, goal of which might well be the dedication of our sons to Moloch, and of our daughters to Mylitta. Against this abomination that maketh desolate, striving to set itself up in the holiest places of Christian society, our Roman Catholic brethren, with their Chief Pontiff at their

head, are manfully lifting up their voice, and for this we thank God and them, and take courage. And for them, we can wish nothing better than to learn, in the energy of their contest with Atheism, that it is far worse to do these things for Christ than to suffer them from Anti-christ.

Leo XIII. may not be a Clement XIV. He did not, in the Conclave, like Clement, meet his election with the words, "Let the peoples go free." But we do not know that since Clement XIV. anything so well worthy of him has proceeded from the Roman chair. And remembering Clement's mysterious end, we hope that the report which was once spread in Rome, that the present Pope had been poisoned, may remain, as Leo himself has severely said, only a *pio desiderio*. There is an acme of Ultramontanism which is more hideous than anything else on the universal earth. But of this it is plain that the author of this Encyclical chooses rather to be the victim than the organ. There is little evidence in his pontificate of his being possessed by the pure energy of exalted faith. But we are thankful, even, for the poise of statesmanlike Italian sagacity, acting on and through great talents and an eminently enlightened mind. May God grant that the worst he may have to fear from the idolaters of his hysterical predecessor may be the demented ravings of the late Bishop of Tournay. It is no wonder, however, that the fear of Gioacchino Pecci's succession, in spite of all his care to immure him for thirty years in his mountain diocese, was the *bête noire* of Pius IX.

At the beginning of Leo's reign the "Congregationalist," with true Christian boldness, exhorted all Protestants to pray for him. If this admirable exhortation on behalf of this great bishop has been neglected hitherto, it may well be renewed. And we could wish that hereafter he would see to it that his Encyclicals should reach such points within the Protestant world as will insure them all due respect, in their own magnificent Latin, of which it is hardly an extravagance to say that it would not have done discredit to Cicero himself.

CRITICISM AND COMMENT.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., December 11, 1885.

To the Editors of THE ANDOVER REVIEW.

GENTLEMEN, — Your last article on "Progressive Orthodoxy" closes with a sentence which seems to invite replies. Permit me, therefore, to offer one or two criticisms of your views.

Can the three postulates, "universal sinfulness, universal atonement, and the indispensableness of faith in Christ," be successfully maintained? How about those who have died in infancy, idiocy, congenital insanity, etc., — have these sinned? That is pretty old-school theology. Is not knowledge of law and duty and consciousness of willful transgression essential to sin, — at least to any such sin as involves guilt and needs atonement? If there has been no voluntary choice of evil, wherein lies

the indispensableness of voluntary choice of Christ? The work of Christ is, perhaps, an atonement for all, in that all are implicated in the corporate sinfulness of the race. But is not the special need of the classes referred to that of being lifted out of a condition of moral ruin in which they are involved by no fault of their own, rather than that of an atonement for sins which they have not committed? And is not the work of Christ, with reference to them, less an atonement than the means of obtaining for them and applying to them the transforming power of the Spirit and the power of his resurrection, without any voluntary action on their part?

With reference to the intelligent and free moral agents in the race the three postulates may be admitted. But here arises another question. When you speak of the indispensableness of faith in Christ, what Christ, or rather, what revelation of Christ, do you mean? I think that you must admit that, owing to mental idiosyncrasies, prejudice, educational bias, men often get very incorrect and distorted, and always get very partial and inadequate, views of Christ, even from the Gospels, and that the methods of presentation of Him, at least by "orthodox" preachers, are often such as to convey very erroneous notions of Him; so that we must include among these who never have the gospel fairly offered to them in this life not only the heathen and certain classes that never hear preaching in Christian lands, but also very many, if not most, of those who hear the gospel preached all their lives.

Again, what does our Lord mean, in his description of the final judgment, by representing both the righteous and the wicked as *surprised* to find that they have been ministering to or rejecting Christ? If they have all of them had Christ offered to them, either before or after death, and have distinctly and consciously accepted or rejected Him, how is such surprise possible? It seems to me that the explanation is, that Christ is presented to men not only in the Gospels, but also in humanity. He himself gives the clew: "Inasmuch as ye did it to one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me." The man who loves and serves his fellow-men really accepts and embraces that humanity which merely finds its perfection in Jesus Christ, and so really accepts Christ, though he may never have heard of his story in the Gospels, or may even have rejected some false conception of Him. He shows that he certainly would accept Christ at once if he knew Him. He manifests the spirit of Christ, and of the kingdom of heaven. Whereas the man who has no sympathy with or love for men really rejects Christ, though he may fairly worship some imaginary conception of Him which he has created for himself out of the materials supplied by the Gospels. This view admits the indispensableness of faith in Christ, and yet makes this life a sufficient arena for test of character, and renders it unnecessary to resort to the hypothesis of a future probation. It seems to me, also, to reconcile a great many apparently contradictory Scripture statements, and to remove a good many difficulties. And, farther, it seems to me to be of immense practical im-

portance; for there is among evangelical Christians much too great a tendency to regard an attitude of mind toward an ideal conception as saving faith instead of a devotion of the life to Him as He stands before us in humanity.

If you do not regard these suggestions as of sufficient importance for public notice, — which I do not expect or particularly desire, — it would at least be a gratification and help to me personally if you could find time to send me a few lines privately by way of reply.

Very truly yours,

JOHN E. TODD.

We are glad to have these questions proposed, since they present important considerations for any theory of salvation and final judgment by Christ. The courteous manner in which the criticisms are offered makes it an additional pleasure to comment upon them.

The first question pertains to those who die in infancy and to others who cannot, during the earthly life, be considered morally accountable. There is so much obscurity concerning the methods by which such persons are brought to final blessedness that no one can be certain what those methods are. We can be certain and can agree only as to the fact that they all are saved, and saved by the grace of God in Christ. We have not, however, in the series of theological articles, represented the sinfulness even of responsible agents as limited to guilt and need of pardon. Nor have we ever declared or implied that atonement has respect only to the guilt of man, or that it is nothing more than expiation for guilt. By universal sinfulness we mean (and it was so stated) that man's sinful state is such that he has no power of deliverance from it, and this consideration is more important than a determination of the degree of his guilt. In our view, therefore, sinfulness is not merely individualistic but also organic and corporate. Infants as members of a sinful race inherit sinful tendencies, and Christ as the Redeemer of mankind redeems all who are members of the race. It is through his grace alone that human beings are delivered and purified from sin, whether that sin is actual transgression or inherited disposition to evil. We differ from Dr. Todd as to sinfulness and atonement only in employing those terms with a somewhat wider application than he is accustomed to associate with them. He agrees with us that those who die in infancy need salvation and are saved by the grace of Christ. His real objection relative to infants is that we represent faith in Christ as indispensable. He does not believe that *voluntary* choice of Christ is the condition of their salvation. His own view is that the work of Christ is "the means of obtaining for them and applying to them the transforming power of the Spirit and the power of the resurrection without any voluntary action on their part." He probably thinks that if their voluntary choice is necessary, some might refuse Christ and be lost. We do not think of their action as voluntary in the sense that the result is uncertain. But we do

believe that their salvation or perfecting is ethical and conscious. As an infant who lives may grow up in a Christian home and develop Christian character so gradually that no sharp crisis occurs, so the infant transferred to the heavenly home is under influences perfectly Christian and develops gradually into spiritual and intellectual maturity; and with a certainty as nearly absolute as any moral certainty can be, so nearly absolute that it is unnecessary to take alternatives into consideration. This view perfectly harmonizes with our theory. Those who die in infancy know Christ and learn to love him after death. Infants are not lost before they die, for we believe no one is lost or eternally condemned unless he has rejected Christ. But the infant needs to be purified from sinful tendencies and to be brought to his proper estate of holiness. If this is done it must be done ethically and consciously, whether it is done on earth or done in heaven. Does Dr. Todd mean that their salvation is accomplished in the moment of death and by a miracle? Does he mean that the "transforming power of the Spirit and the power of the resurrection" are applied by omnipotence while infants are dying, so that the instant after death they are radically changed in character, and appear in heaven as fully developed saints? We had supposed that belief in the salvation of infants is wholly favorable to our theory, but extremely perplexing to any theory which holds that the salvation of all human beings is limited to the earthly life. This is so notable an exception that we are prepared to find other exceptions. The really significant fact about infant salvation is that the Christian consciousness is certain all infants are saved, and demands that theology shall qualify the opinion that salvation is possible only in the earthly life. We cannot take space to characterize the straits into which inoffensive infants have driven all theological systems which limit the opportunity of salvation to this life.

We should argue in substantially the same way concerning idiocy, congenital insanity, and other conditions of irresponsibility.

The other question is of more importance. "When you speak of faith in Christ, what Christ, or rather what revelation of Christ, do you mean?" Some know Christ inadequately, to some He is presented erroneously, none know Him perfectly. How, then, can faith in Christ be indispensable to salvation? Are not all men, then, finally judged by relation to their fellow-men whom they do know rather than by relation to Christ whom they may not have known aright or may not have known at all? The assumption here is that faith in Christ to be saving must be free from all imperfection and error, that only through comprehensive, intelligent, unprejudiced knowledge of Christ can saving faith arise. But it has always been a cause of wonder and praise to believers that although they are painfully aware how imperfect their knowledge of Christ is, yet their lives are transformed by his grace and the peace of God fills their hearts. Paul knew only in part, yet was saved by faith in Christ, not by benevolence to his fellow-men. And so it is with the humblest believer. It is not for us to judge with how little knowledge of Christ salvation may be

possible. But we instantly answer that if during one's earthly life knowledge of Christ is so inadequate, if presentations of Him are so perverted and erroneous that humble saving faith in Him is practically precluded, then in our belief, and in entire agreement with our theory, that knowledge will some time be given. Concerning those who do not have the gospel at all, such as many heathen, the case seems so clear that we think it most probable that the requisite knowledge will be given after death. In the case of those who have some knowledge of Christ we do not think that any man has the power or the right to judge either of the adequacy of the knowledge or of the corresponding responsibility of those who have it.

The remainder of Dr. Todd's letter is taken up with a criticism of our theory and the suggestion of a preferable theory in view of the account of final judgment as given in Matt. xxv. 31-46. He assumes that the "brethren" to whom love had been shown are men in general, and that "surprise" because service to the brethren proves to have been service to Christ is impossible to those who have rejected or accepted Christ. Therefore he implies that the passage in Matthew describes the judgment only of those who have never known Christ as He is known to the Christian nations. It is the judgment of those who have never had the gospel. The Christian nations have already been judged. The best reply we can make is to indicate the correct interpretation of the passage.

In the first place, we agree with nearly all reputable scholars in rejecting the view that only the non-christian or heathen nations are intended. It would be improper to say that the Messianic kingdom has been prepared for the virtuous heathen from the foundation of the world. It is an expression applicable to the great body of the redeemed. It was prepared for those who believe on the Lord Jesus Christ. Moral heathen may have a place in the kingdom, but it could not be said with such emphasis that the kingdom was prepared for them from the foundation of the world. Again, those who are accepted are addressed as the "righteous" (*οἱ δίκαιοι*), a term applied in the New Testament to Christian believers, and as the "blessed of my Father," a term especially appropriate to those who were avowed servants of Christ. Again, both sides use language such as compels us to acknowledge their belief in the Judge before whom they stand. Their language is the expression of a consciousness of their faith in the Messiah, towards whom, however, not having seen Him, they had had no opportunity of directly showing their love. Every humble believer, although familiar with this description, will doubtless be surprised to find that many acts which he had forgotten were acceptable and precious to the Master, and that through them his faith was proved. And many who had taken pride in the correctness of their belief will be surprised to find that their life was inconsistent with their profession. Nothing but the light of the judgment day will expose to the self-deceived that glaring contradiction which is obvious to all except to themselves. Again, the word "brethren" is usually employed by Christ to designate

those who are his faithful servants, and cannot be assumed as of course to apply to all men, saints and sinners alike. Deeds of kindness to Christ's faithful but obscure servants could not be exercised outside the Christian community, and therefore not by heathen. The designation "all the nations" is not limited to the Gentiles so as to exclude the Jews or the kingdom of Christian believers, since the word is applied (John xi. 50) to the Jews, and the command of Christ (Matt. xxviii. 19) is to make disciples of all the nations, showing that his expectation was that the kingdom of believers would be gathered in from all the nations. The term then cannot be limited to those who have not had the gospel.

It would, indeed, be easier to maintain with Meyer and others that only professed Christians are meant than to maintain that only the heathen nations are meant. The explanation then would be that a judgment is instituted by which the spurious are separated from the genuine followers of Christ, that faith or the pretension of faith is taken for granted, and that the actual life shows whether the faith is real or only pretended, practical or only theoretical. Jesus frequently declares that the life is the test of faith. "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." Those who are described in Matt. vii. 22 are professed believers in Christ, and their spirit and language is almost identical with the spirit and reply of those who are rejected at the final judgment. "Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy by thy name, and by thy name cast out devils, and by thy name do many mighty works?" So much may be urged in favor of this view that some think the account has reference only to those nations who are living on earth at the time of the judgment when all will be nominally Christian, former generations having already been judged, and for the reason that the replies made to Christ clearly assume a real or pretended faith in Him, surprise being felt only at the tests by which faith is approved or condemned. No theory could be more untenable than the theory that those only are described who never before had heard of Christ.

The correct interpretation finds in the passage a description, partly in figurative terms, of the judgment of all nations at the end of the present order of things. At that time the gospel will have been preached to all nations, and, as we believe, to all generations. All men will have known of Christ, and will have had opportunity to believe on Him. Possibly all will profess to have faith in Him. At least they all will know the Judge before whom they stand. The searching question concerning faith will be directed not to the side of opinion or profession, but to the side of renewal of life and transformation of character. Unless faith works by love it is spurious. It will ultimately be true that all men are judged by those works of which faith alone is the producing principle. If it is objected that the works mentioned must, in the nature of the case,

be performed during the earthly life, we need only reply that, under whatever circumstances, faith in Christ will have opportunity to be realized in works of love, but that the illustrations of the principle must be intelligible to hearers, and therefore were drawn from the present state of things. We do not deny that the power of Christ may now be energizing in some who do not consciously and avowedly become his disciples, but in nearly all such cases they know Him by reflection from the lives of those who do accept Him, and from those Christian standards which have become incorporated into custom. Before the judgment we believe they will have conscious faith in Christ. But when there is no real knowledge of the gospel, either in itself or from its results, we find no satisfactory evidence of the Christian life.

And thus we are brought back to the problem which confronted us in the entire discussion. If the heathen are to be judged by the deeds done in the body, and under these tests of the final judgment, then they are to be judged by the highest and most searching tests possible. It would be expected that they will have exhibited conduct and character such as is admirable even in those who have intelligent faith in Christ. Yet practically they have been ignorant of the motive and power by which such results can be produced. To say nothing of exegetical difficulties, if the heathen, not having had the gospel, are to be judged by the tests we have been considering, then the masses of heathendom are hopelessly lost. Instead of being measured by standards within their reach, they are measured by the highest standards possible, by unattainable standards.

Dr. Todd advances the view that humanity merely finds its perfection in Jesus Christ, and that to love and serve our fellow-man is to love and serve Christ. Christ is revealed in humanity. He is the ideal man. This view robs Christianity of its distinctive signification and power. We had supposed that Christ reveals God as well as man; that He brings the love of God to sinful men so that they may be redeemed from sin and brought to their true condition of holiness. In Christ God seeks man, bringing in that truth and motive by which man can become a new creature. Man has conscience, knows the difference between right and wrong, admires virtue and kindness, but without the love of God in Christ is powerless to realize goodness. The good that he would he does not, and crying out, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death," finds deliverance only through Jesus Christ our head. Christ is more than the ideal man. He is the Second Adam, the progenitor of a new humanity, the producing cause of a new life. In the old Adam all die; in Christ only can any be made alive. We agree with Dr. Todd in condemning a dead orthodoxy, which substitutes an ideal conception for devotion of life to human needs. But we regard as most dangerous and pernicious any representation of Christianity which reduces it to a level with natural religion, which discovers no essential difference between the race of sinners, with its various possibilities, and the Lord

and Saviour Jesus Christ, who came to seek and to save that which was lost. We heartily echo the words of Lange, when he says, "We must not weaken the fundamental principle. Out of Christ is no pardon or salvation. We cannot admit different terms of salvation."

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE.

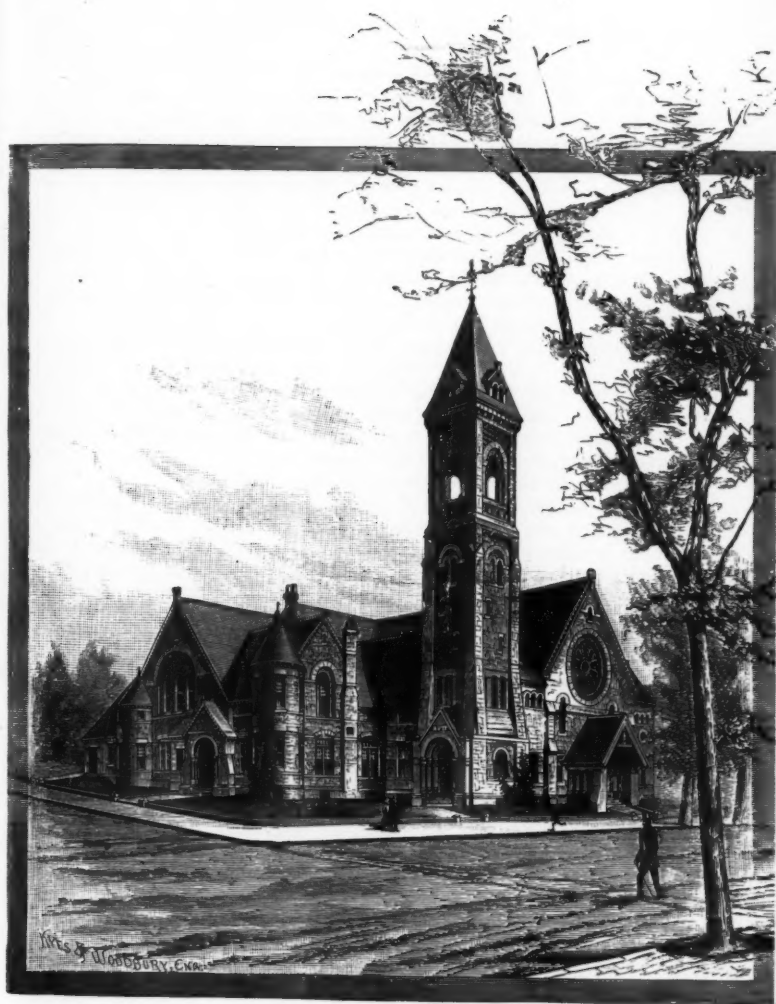
EXPOSITIONS OF CONTEMPORARY CHURCH ARCHITECTURE.

I.

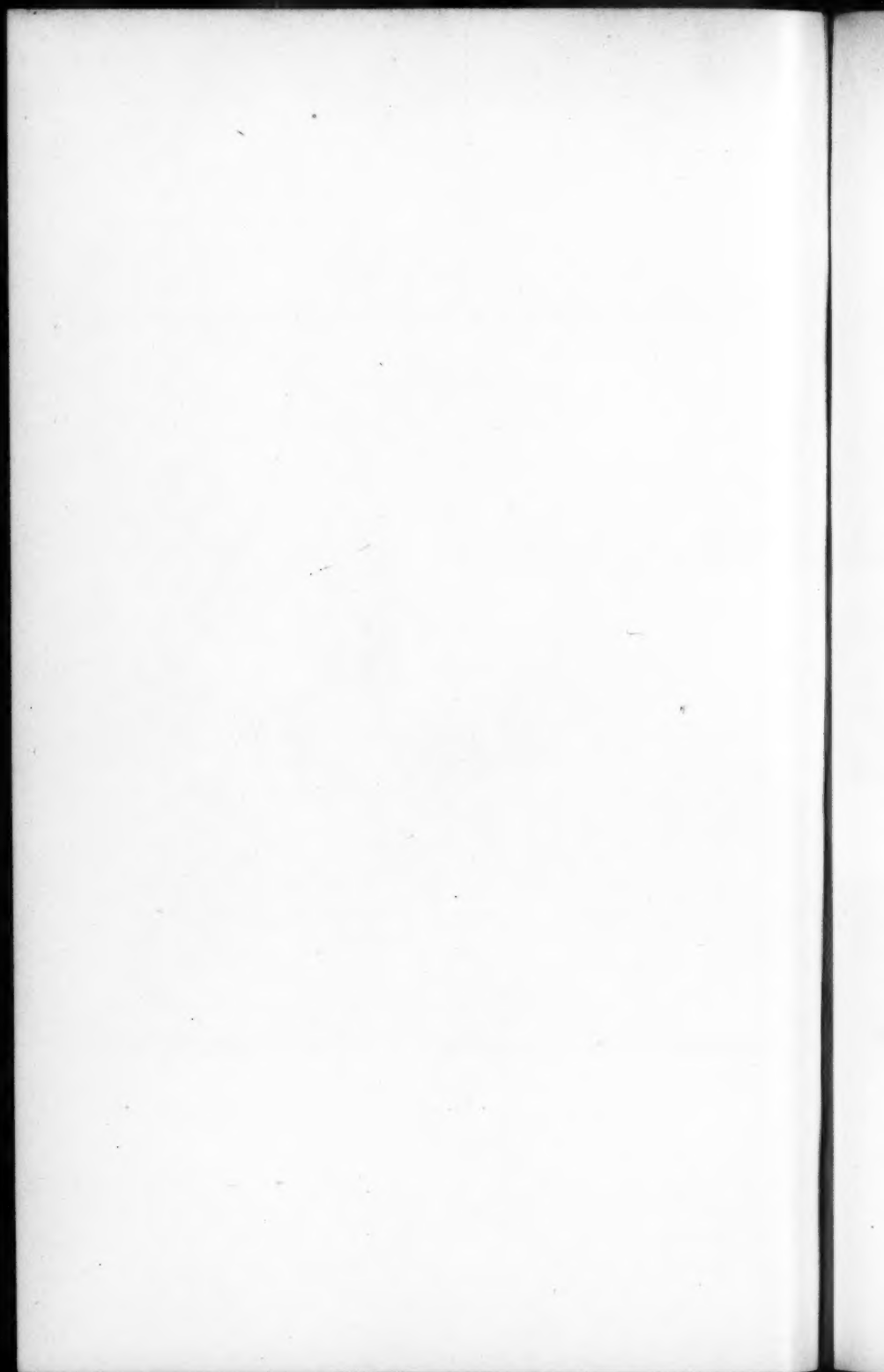
FOR a layman in architecture to assume a dogmatic tone in expressing himself upon an art he has never in any true sense practiced, or to address himself to skillful practitioners in this difficult and noble profession as instructor, critic, or reformer, would be a manifest impertinence. To ally himself with the *dilettanti*, and record the subtle, æsthetic emotions that are supposed to be awakened in superior beings while contemplating impressive examples of modern or mediæval ecclesiastical architecture, would justly expose him to ridicule, even though the transcript of his sensations were accompanied by valid reasons to account for the worthiness of his admirations. We attempt no contribution to the literary history of the art, nor do we offer new views upon the disputed questions in the theory and practice of architecture. Architecture that is worthy of the name is adequately understood and interpreted only by the gifted architect or critic who has the capacity to receive and the expressional art to communicate artistic ideas and feeling. He it is who, in matters concerning his art, must give sight to the blind. Unfortunately for the literature of architecture, even the ablest amongst the architects, for the most part, content themselves in their teaching and interpretation with doing rather than with telling. "I criticise by creation," said Michael Angelo, "not by finding fault."

The main purpose of the present writer is a comparatively unambitious one, and purely practical. The aim is, in a brief series of articles, to render useful service to such readers of the "Andover Review" as may one day find themselves in some way practically engaged in church building, and to contribute to the interest of others who, in various ways, may be concerned in the furtherance of this important influence in the social and religious life of a community. We are not unmindful of the existence of effective organizations for the special purpose of imparting useful information and suggesting wise methods of building to religious societies that propose erecting churches under adverse circumstances of location and resources. Such organizations may find us indirectly helpful in the prosecution of their praiseworthy ends.

The basis of the method adopted to realize the spirit and purpose indicated is not invention but exposition. We have nothing novel to advocate in style, plan, or construction. Neither shall we attempt to revive an interest in the architecture of the remote past, but we shall endeavor faithfully to register some phases of the present. Types of church architecture will be selected from the numerous admirable examples in the country that have been built in the recent past, which seem to us to em-



THE CENTRAL CHURCH,
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body interesting and useful features in the worthy expression of the needs of modern church-life.

The exercise of the modest function of registration and exposition may be legitimately assumed by any intelligent layman who has made architecture a favorite study, and who has taken the trouble to see for himself the edifices he proposes as the subjects of his exposition, and to verify the facts of their history and construction. If it is his good fortune to develop his scheme under the impulse of a practical apprenticeship in certain departments of the art, served at some former period of his life, and if he has had an extensive acquaintance with audience-rooms in their relation to public speaking and other requirements, his guidance in the matter undertaken may gain an increment of trustworthiness in the estimation of his readers. Nevertheless, no greater value should be attached to his opinions than would be accorded to any student of the subject, careful for his work and candid in his expression; much less should he think of setting himself up as an authority.

In the selection of illustrative examples the types will be chosen from Protestant churches, and largely, though not altogether, from the non-liturgical churches. The new problems in church architecture lie within the changing needs of Protestant church-life. The religious purposes of the Roman Catholic churches are the same to-day that they were in the Middle Ages, and the essential features of their architectural embodiment retain the boasted quality of permanence. We shall also follow the rule of choosing neither very costly nor very inexpensive edifices, but shall rather take those that are best fitted to meet the ecclesiastical wants of the times, irrespective of the single item of the expense of construction. Through personal critical study, and full and accurate description of such examples, supplemented by a sufficient amount of pictorial illustration, we hope to contribute towards elevating the taste of the religious public in American church architecture, and to influence the efforts of some of the church-building committees of the future in securing for their contemplated houses of worship the possible union of utility, beauty, and economy.

During the last twenty-five years the character of American church-life in the Protestant denominations has undergone a noteworthy transformation. Formerly the requirements of the Sabbath congregation were met in the satisfaction of the instinct of worship and the need of religious instruction. In the rapid growth of religious activity a new want has been developed. To the factors of worship and instruction there has been added a third,—the social life of the church. "Sociables" have been multiplied. Associations, conferences, and councils must have "entertainment." The church should be "given to hospitality," and the natural roof-tree under which to extend it is the church home. Should there be considerable literary activity in the community, perhaps stimulated by the "Chautauqua Idea," it is utilized by the social and religious forces, and brought under the influence of the church. These new modes of church-life create their own form of expression. The new demands must be satisfied. In close proximity to the place consecrated to prayer and praise and spiritual edification must be found in the modern well-regulated church the new adjuncts of the kitchen, the parlor, and the library.

In addition to the increased intensity of social church-life there is another element that enters into the designing of non-liturgical churches,—the influence of symbolism. In the cities and large towns there is a

noticeable awakening of interest in ecclesiastical emblems; there is a consequent stimulus given to church decoration which the intense Puritanism of our forefathers discarded as an abomination. We are beginning to appreciate the value of the religious significance of these symbols, and to feel the power of the silent eloquence of their suggestive beauty. The growing force of the social and symbolic influences must be properly considered amongst the problems of church building. Where once there was simplicity in church architecture now there is complexity; and even to the ablest building committee that is compelled to solve the problem there is bewildering perplexity.

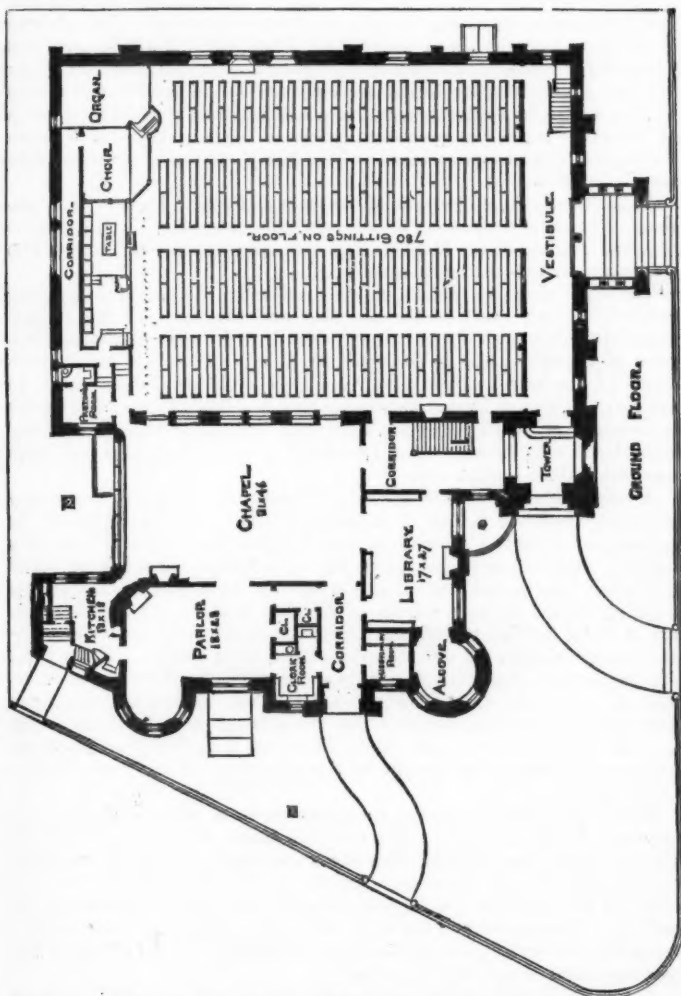
The questions that have their source in the social aspects or in the æsthetic elements of the religious life are among the variable quantities in their architectural expression. There are other factors, however, that are constant; these, too, present themselves as difficulties to a committee. The initial question of site, for instance, ought to influence the style of the exterior; the allied effect of neighborhood in architecture may enhance or destroy the artistic interest of a building. What shall be the controlling idea in the constructive design of the edifice, — shall it be a church, pure and simple; or shall it resemble a lecture-hall, suggesting amusement and the multi-form social purposes of collective secular life? In what material shall the idea find its appropriate expression, — in brick, stone, or wood? What shall be the amount and character of decorative design, and where shall it be applied? Then there are the questions that have vital relation to the personal comfort of the worshippers — warmth, light, ventilation, sight, hearing, ease of entrance and of exit. These conditions also involve the wisest economy in the distribution of the building-fund. Is an inexperienced committee equal to the management of all the constant quantities in such an intricate problem as the building of a church? Manifestly, the committee needs to have its own "hard, practical sense" reinforced by trained sense and disciplined feeling. In a word, it needs the assistance of a conscientious, competent, scholarly architect, a man born with "the compass in his eye," as Angelo said, and whose native gifts have been developed through technical education, experience, and familiarity with the masterpieces of his art. The choice of a thoroughly qualified architect is the chief means of insuring a committee against the dangers of ignorance and poor taste. It is a matter of primary and fundamental importance, and in many cases the selection ought to precede the question of site and environment.

It would be foreign to our design in the present paper to enter into the method of procedure in building a church; but the preliminary questions that we have faintly indicated will be somewhat further developed in their appropriate place in the series. As we have remarked, our immediate province is exposition.

An admirable example of the embodiment of modern requirements in non-liturgical churches is presented in the noble edifice recently dedicated in Worcester, Mass., for the uses of the Central Church (Trinitarian Congregational), the Rev. Daniel Merriman, D. D., minister.

A thoughtful study of the building soon reveals the controlling purpose of Dr. Merriman and his associates of the building committee. Evidently, the great end aimed at was to secure the best expression of concentrated church-life in the fittest constructive and artistic design, and at an expense that reasonably could be borne under the promptings of Christian liberality and cheerful self-sacrifice. This praiseworthy object has

been most successfully accomplished in accordance with the drawings furnished by the architect and superintendent of construction, Mr. Stephen C. Earle, of Worcester.



Regarding the design of the building as a whole, it affords a fine exemplification of diversity in unity. The great purposes of public worship and of religious instruction are supplemented and reinforced by the ideas of education, culture, fellowship, hospitality, and charity. Material unity is given to these separate ideas by localizing them all under one roof, as

it were, and in such relationship that the total expression embodies the true ideal of church-life, — collective sympathy, and service in the kingdom of Christ.

The arrangement of the different parts of the building for attaining this harmonious expression is both simple and ingenious. By referring to the ground-plan in the accompanying illustrations, it will be seen that the theory of distribution is that of the connection and juxtaposition of two unequal parts, assigning to the northerly and larger section the church proper, and to the southerly part the chapel-building, comprising a group of rooms for social and educational purposes. The smaller rooms relate themselves to the chapel, and the whole group sustains an essential relation to the church.

In the accomplished purpose of the main auditorium there is no confusion. The room declares at once its churchly character. It is a *sanctuary*, and nothing else. Only an irrational imagination could turn it into a scientific lecture-room or a concert-hall.

The chief merit or defect in the constructive design of a building naturally reveals itself in the adoption and treatment of the ground-plan. In this church the plan is excellent, both for the ecclesiastical purposes of the edifice and its susceptibility to appropriate artistic development. Some one has said that "the typical Gothic church plan is an avenue; the typical Byzantine church plan is a central area: the Gothic is arranged along an axis; the Byzantine is grouped around a point." This church with its wide nave is modeled upon the Byzantine type, with its characteristic central area.

A serviceable and attractive result is ingeniously secured by this theory of arrangement; it is that of a transept. Although the outline of the ground-plan is that of a parallelogram, the total impression is that of a building with both nave and transepts. The transept effect is produced in construction by the location of the pastor's room and the equal-sized organ-loft in the western corners of the church, the outer angles of the rooms being finished in columns. Symmetrically placed near the opposite eastern corners are two columns of the same design. From these four supporting columns there springs a "barrel-vaulted" ceiling of wood, with the connecting truss-work exposed to view. It is obvious that this nave and transept construction within the four simple walls of the building not only secures a most appropriate and desirable effect in church architecture, but is also greatly to the advantage of economy of space and of money.

The central area is occupied with four ranks of pews divided by five generous aisles: a central aisle, two side aisles, and two intermediate. The five aisles are connected with the main vestibule at the eastern end, each having its own doorway. Ample space is thus afforded for easy entrance and exit for the largest audience that can be gathered in the building. The pews upon the main floor are designed to accommodate seven hundred and eighty persons, and the gallery over the vestibule will seat one hundred and twenty more.

A novel and striking feature in construction, and one which serves a useful purpose upon important public occasions, is a balcony upon the southern wall of the room, which will comfortably seat fifty persons. The balcony is approached from the Sunday-school room in the chapel-building, and the view of the church interior from this spot is most attractive.



A marked and original feature of the church is the chancel. "Chancel" is an unusual term to employ in describing a Congregational house of worship. It has a ritualistic sound, but no other word accurately represents the unique arrangement of the space devoted to the conduct of worship in this church. As the observer faces the chancel he notices that it is threefold in its design, and completely fills the space between the minister's room on the left and the organ-loft on the right. The pulpit platform is on the left adjoining the minister's room and connecting with it. The pulpit is placed upon the corner nearest the central aisle. On the right a platform of corresponding area is devoted to the use of the choir, and is arranged for thirty singers. It is worthy of mention that the singers are not screened off from the congregation as if they were placed on occasional exhibition, but they are here regarded as fellow-worshippers with the great congregation. Between the pulpit platform and the choir, and upon a lower platform fronting the central aisle, and near to its outer edge, is a movable lectern or reading-desk, and immediately behind it is the communion-table. A massive baptismal font exquisitely wrought in stone is placed midway between pulpit and reading-desk. At the rear of the chancel, and filling the space between the minister's room and the organ-loft, there rises a screen of quartered oak, simple in design but impressive in its architectural effect. Against the screen there is ranged upon the platform a series of ten clerical stalls, suggestive of ecclesiastical dignity.

The construction of the chancel, no doubt, was chiefly practical in its purpose, for greater convenience in the conduct of worship. But an observer may be granted the privilege of investing it with a symbolic value. Each part of the arrangement has its peculiar distinction. The pulpit, for teaching. The low-placed lectern, for prayer and the reading of the Word. The Bible is thus restored to its appropriate place near the people as the Book of the people. The minister, engaged in reading or in prayer, is one of the people; the suggested sentiment is, *Let us worship*. The choir, as an integral part of the scheme, is fittingly placed adjacent to the pulpit and lectern for the service of sacred song. The different parts of the service are thus clothed with their own religious significance and dignity. Does all this suggest ritualism? But why refuse to be influenced by the usages of ritualistic churches if they are intrinsically good and are susceptible of adaptation to the simplicity of congregational worship? Are we never to add to our own power by the aid of others? "It would have been ridiculous in Bonifacio to refuse to employ Titian's way of laying on color if he felt it the best, because he had not himself discovered it."

In the arrangement and construction of the pews there is another indication of the intention to adhere to the idea of a church. There is not the faintest suggestion of a theatre. The floor is level, and the line of the pews runs parallel with the straight end-walls of the church. The amphitheatrical model of arrangement may have some advantages; nevertheless, the raised seats of a Greek theatre do not harmonize with the associations of a Christian church. The sittings in this church, with a very few exceptions, are of equal value for seeing and hearing. A simple but very useful device in the construction of the pews must not be overlooked. Each seat is divided into two sections; some seats are equally divided; some are made for the accommodation of three persons, some for four, others for five. A simple arm-support divides the sec-

tions, and is made easily adjustable to the varying wants of those who hire the sittings.

The personal comfort of the worshipers is provided for in many thoughtful ways. To recur to the pews: the auditor finds himself agreeably disposed upon softly cushioned seats made of sufficient width, and of such a height and slant of back as to afford a natural and adequate support. The pews are separated at a distance to allow easy passage-way, and yet not so far apart as to interfere with comfort in supporting the head when bowed in prayer. The space between pews is free from one aisle to the other; and aisles and pews all open into each other so as to permit unobstructed passage.

There is one feature worthy of especial commendation,—the regard paid to the reciprocal relations of speaker and hearer. The pulpit is so placed that the preacher, instead of confronting the long blank space of the central aisle, directly faces a solid body of listeners in the rank of pews in front of him; and yet the central aisle is so related to the chancel that it completely serves its important function on ceremonial occasions. The pulpit platform is also well arranged as to height. The preacher is not placed so high as to produce the sense of distance from his hearers and of speaking *down* at them, nor is it so low that the farthest auditors have difficulty in seeing the speaker. Every public speaker sensitive to the outward conditions of public address will congratulate the speakers from this pulpit on the abiding presence of these favorable conditions for securing animation in the preacher and attention and sympathy from the congregation.

The location of the choir is still an unsettled question in planning a church; but the strong tendency is to gratify a natural instinct for placing the choir where it can be seen as well as heard. When a chorus of singers faces the audience, as is the case in this church, the congregation feels more sensibly the influence of the harmony, and is better guided in its singing than when the choir is placed out of sight. Attention and sympathy in the service of praise are stimulated by the reciprocal visual relations of singers and congregation. The special comfort and convenience of the singers have been consulted by arranging a well lighted and conveniently furnished corridor between the ornamental screen back of the choir and the western wall of the church. The singers can pass in and out without annoyance to themselves or to the congregation. This corridor also connects indirectly with the cosy and amply furnished pastor's room at the left of the chancel. The necessary but unæsthetic activity of the organist is ingeniously concealed from view by a semi-circular screen of oak, which contributes an architectural feature to the church, and also gives the organist an easy and effective command of his choir.

The acoustic properties of a large auditorium are more frequently a fortuitous result than the consequence of scientific calculation. The acoustics of this church seem to be perfect. We hazard one or two reasons for the successful result. First, and chiefly, the broken surfaces of the walls, and the peculiarly curved configuration of the vaulted ceiling. The whitewood material of the ceiling furnishes another favorable condition for the reflection of sound. Still another cause is the reduction of absorbents of sound-waves in the absence of carpeting under the pews, the carpeting being confined to the aisles. The fine proportioning of the height of the room to its length and breadth must also be taken into

account. The acoustics of the building were subjected to a severe test at the dedicatory service, when every listener in a congregation of twenty-five hundred, filling church, chapel, and Sunday-school room, heard the various speakers with distinctness. The external conditions of easy hearing are generally the conditions of easy speaking, and speakers with ordinary vocal power experience no difficulty in harmonizing their voices with the voice of the auditorium.

The comfort and health arising from good ventilation have been provided for in a somewhat peculiar manner. There is no elaborate system, but a large open fireplace in the southern wall, located near the entrance, makes an efficient air-conductor; this device is supplemented by easily commanded air-flues, conveniently placed in the walls and roof. The ventilation of the important rooms in the chapel-building is secured by an open fireplace in each room. The quality of the air in the colder seasons of the year is healthfully and agreeably influenced by the indirect radiation of steam heat; by this method a great volume of warmed fresh air is constantly introduced.

The essential conditions of health and comfort are consulted in the provision of an adequate supply of light, even in dull and unpleasant weather. In the north wall, near the organ, is placed a group of three large windows filled with amber-colored cathedral glass, bordered with a narrow stripe of figured green, which launch a shower of light into the central area without the blinding effect of the direct rays of the sun. Opposite to these windows are three large openings in the southern wall connecting with the Sunday-school room, filled with clear, leaded glass; and below them, underneath the balcony, is an arcade of six arched openings, between the chapel and the church, which are filled with cathedral glass in gilt-leaded sash. The main gallery is lighted from a noble rose-window through which the eastern light streams in profusion; and in the opposite end, high up above the chancel, the western light comes through a group of five beautiful windows. The artificial light is supplied by gas in elegantly designed brass chandeliers and other fixtures in graceful forms. Nearly all the gas-jets in the auditorium are lighted by electricity.

The chapel-building, to which we now give attention, is two stories in height. On the first floor is the chapel itself, with a seating capacity for two hundred and fifty persons. Grouped around it, and connecting with it by convenient doorways, corridors, and vestibules, are the library on the east, and the missionary-room, parlor, and kitchen on the south. The chapel is also entered from the church by two indirectly connecting corridor entrances. The chapel is abundantly lighted by a group of five cathedral-glass windows that nearly fill the west end of the room, and from the six-arched arcade windows in the partition between church and chapel. The room is furnished with substantial folding-chairs. The leading feature of artistic design is the open fireplace with the pressed brick chimney-breast reaching to the ceiling, and bearing the inscription: "O ye Fire and Heat, bless ye the Lord; praise him and magnify him forever."

On important social occasions the chapel is used for the principal room, and is approached from the porch in the southern front and the main corridor. On the right of the corridor are the missionary-room and the library, which, at such times, are used for the accommodation of gentlemen; and on the left of the corridor are the cloak-room and parlor for the convenience of the ladies. With the aid of these serviceable rooms the

management of the entrance and exit of a large assembly can be conducted with comparative ease and absence of confusion.

The parlor is the special domain of the ladies. This cheerful room, with its southern exposure, is amply furnished with quietly tasteful and durable fabrics. The presence of sewing-machines, and other signs of feminine industry, bespeak the activity of the ladies in deeds of Christian beneficence. A semi-circular bay-window, with its generously cushioned window-seat of olive-colored *velours*, is a most inviting nook for busy work or social chat, and the large, open fireplace, surmounted by a wood-mantel of simple elegance of design built diagonally across the southwest corner of the room, insures both warmth and ventilation.

On the opposite side of the corridor is an excellent provision for church work, — the missionary-room, which is well supplied with conveniently arranged drawers, closets, and other receptacles for the orderly distribution and security of the industrial results of the benevolent Christian work accomplished by the women of the church.

An important point of social and educational interest is the spacious, admirably arranged, and appropriately furnished library. The circular alcove in the northeast corner is a tempting and delightful spot for quiet reading, meditation, or friendly talk. The library is also fittingly used for committee meetings, the young people's prayer-meetings, and the occasional meetings of ministerial associations. This room, too, is warmed and ventilated from an open fireplace decorated with a handsome mantel.

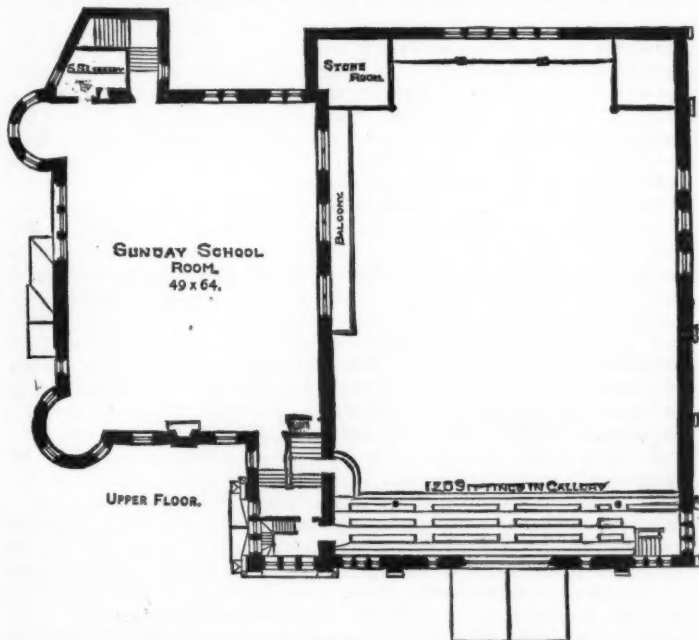
But the church home with its cheerful parlor and its quiet library would be incomplete without forethought for hospitality. Located in the southwestern corner of the chapel-building, and connecting directly with parlor, chapel, and street, is the smallest, snuggest, most compactly arranged and thoroughly furnished room of the social group, — the kitchen. Cupboards, drawers, shelves, hooks, sink, dumb-waiter, burnished tea and coffee urns, and the family display of glass and china, all combine to make the kitchen a marvel of ingenuity in the domestic economy of the church.

The second story of the chapel-building covers the entire group of social rooms including the chapel, and is entirely devoted to the needs of the Sunday-school. Arranged in groups for class instruction are three hundred folding-chairs. Fortunate, indeed, are the classes that assemble in the charming circular alcoves at the two outer corners of the room! The infant class is taught in the chapel below. The capacious Sunday-school room is brilliantly lighted by a large triple window in the southern wall, and ten smaller windows contribute a liberal supply of light, and are so arranged as to give ample ventilation in the warmer seasons of the year. From the north side of the room easy access is given to the balcony on the wall in the church interior. Exit and entrance are provided for by the use of two main staircases that connect with four passageways. There is also free communication between the main gallery of the church and the schoolroom. In the event of an unusually large social gathering the room is used as an additional assembly-room, and refreshments are served by means of a dumb-waiter connecting with the kitchen below.

In these perfect domestic arrangements the provision must not be overlooked for that important item, — the gradual accumulation of necessary but unsightly articles. Besides the usual place, the cellar, a large amount of space over some of the rooms in the upper part of the building is utilized for storage.

Our description of the interior of this edifice would be imperfect if no reference were made to the remarkable system for ingress, egress, and free circulation of moving humanity by means of vestibules, corridors, staircases, and aisles. There are many of them, but not one is superfluous; not one is too small for its purpose, and not one is insufficiently lighted. They are so many avenues running into each other at different points, so as to render every room and passage of the complex arrangement easily accessible to every other, and to secure a safe and speedy emptying of the building should it be needed.

The exterior of the church, like that of all good architecture, grows out of the centres and conditions from which the ideas of utility in the construction and arrangement of the interior come to their development.



The controlling purpose, to make the edifice an expression of concentrated church life, is manifest throughout all its parts. The lofty stone tower, rising to the height of one hundred and forty feet, serves utility in attracting attention from a distance, in being a campanile for the bell that calls to worship, and its ample ground-story forms a dignified porch for one of the principal entrances to the church. The tower also performs the office of connecting and binding together the church and the chapel-building. Its architectural design is an expression of the beauty of earnest aspiration, through its bold and elegant proportions, terminating in the warm-colored pyramidal roof with its gilded finial. The steep-pitched, long-lined gables, inclosing their arched and rose windows, and the expansive surfaces of the roof, betoken a building that is associated with

the religious structures of the ages. Varied lines, surfaces, and openings give attractive expression to the southern frontage. They announce a purpose of utility, while yet in harmony with the grave and simple treatment of the church itself.

The architectural style of the church is the Romanesque. It was the only and original choice as the style best adapted to the site, to the best economy in the transmutation of the building-fund into architectural form, and for expressively embodying the orderly, earnest, steadfast, unostentatious spirit that should animate the activities of a true modern church life. The plastic character of the Romanesque lends itself with peculiar fitness to the permanent features inhering in the site and its environment. Not every style would be adapted to the irregularly shaped lot, to the varied surface of the rising ground upon the west, and to the open country on the north. The site is a corner lot, and owing to the sharp angle between the border lines a charming lawn is secured between the church and the corner of the street. The deflecting line of the lot on the southern boundary determines the choice of the architectural treatment of the southern elevation. The variety of straight and curved lines, defining flat and rounded surfaces presented in the corner tower of the library and the bay-window of the parlor with their intervening spaces, affords the needed relief to the stiffness of the situation.

The walls of the entire edifice are of the warm reddish-brown Longmeadow stone, and are laid in unhammered face broken ashler, upon a base of dark Fitzwilliam granite. The eastern façade, which is properly the principal elevation of the church, presents a pleasing and dignified appearance. Its chief point of beauty is the handsome rose-window in the gable; and its most important feature is the main entrance porch, built partly of wood and partly of stone, suggestive of its future (and desirable) completion in stone. The ease of approach to all the porches and vestibules, by means of stone steps of shallow risers, broad treads, and convenient landing-places, is a noteworthy provision for general comfort, and especially for the safety and protection of the aged and the infirm.

Harmony is the true test of a building considered as a whole. In the general architectural design of the exterior the architect has apparently exerted his imagination in accordance with the dictates of a rational spirit, aiming not at picturesqueness of effect, but for a judicious proportioning and symmetrical arrangement of the different parts of the structure. Architecture of this kind appeals to the eye and the mind through its simplicity, its quiet force, its calm reserve. The church has too great magnitude to warrant the epithet "beautiful;" neither is it of sufficient magnitude to rank with the grand in art; but it truthfully may be styled a noble, scholarly, and impressive work of architectural art.

In point of artistic and decorative design the style of treatment is in harmony with the serious spirit that dominates the general style of the architecture. Almost the only ornamental work on the exterior is in the variously carved capitals on the columns that form a part of the composition of the two main entrances. The artistic purpose that determined the prevailing color of the interior, the design and color of the stained-glass window decorations, the details of the surface ornamentations on walls and ceilings, the character and treatment of the illuminated texts, and the choice of the suggestive symbols, was a sincerely religious purpose. They all address themselves to the religious sentiment, and conduce towards stimulating its activity. Hence the dominant tone of color in the church is

grave, reposeful, and yet cheerful in character, and defines itself in a soft and rather light shade of olive. The color of the carpet, the dye of the cushions, the color of the pews, beams, doors, wainscottings, and standing-finish, the stain of the vaulted ceiling and the open-timbered woodwork, have all their contrasts harmonized by the ruling tone in the scheme of color-decoration. The friezes, the simple and strong window-arch ornamentation, and the Scripture texts chosen with exceeding fitness for appropriate wall-spaces, are all treated in ivory-white and gold. The decorative work upon the dark olive vaulted ceiling is outlined in dark brown and filled in with gold. A refined and suggestive piece of color-decoration is that of the organ-pipes, where the ground is entirely of plain gold relieved by delicately ornamented crosses in ivory-white. The figure designs, the ornamental patterns, and the choice and combination of colors in the windows, indicate great refinement of artistic feeling. They are more or less conventional in conception, and the figures especially suggest a sympathy with the mediæval spirit in this form of decorative art. The richest window in the church is the great rose-window in the eastern façade. It is composed mainly of shades of deep red. As the morning light shines through, it gives the effect of the shimmering from the innumerable facets of an immense ruby. Perhaps the windows that possess the greatest degree of loveliness and charm are the group of five round-arched windows just above the chancel. The eye seeks this group the oftenest and lingers upon it the longest. The western light pours in transformed by the delicately colored figures robed in blue, yellow, and deep amber, against a background of sparkling jewels, making the chancel luminous with their mingled tints. The monumental element in the æsthetic spirit of the builders finds expression through the medium of colored glass. The light of memory shines through two beautiful windows on the north side of the church near the front. One is placed there "In Memory of the first four Pastors of the Church." The other, "In Memory of the Devout and Honorable Women of this Church who here have borne witness to their Lord and Master by lives of Charity and Faithfulness."

The partition between the vestibule and the church is composed of colored gilt-leaded glass laid in small, irregular, rectilinear mosaic, and relieved by graceful patterns of opalescent effect. The large window in the Sunday-school room is scarcely less interesting than the chancel group. Cherub heads with wings are set in lovely blue near the top, and the color gradually shades off into yellow, deepening as it nears the bottom. A very suggestive emblem is likely to be overlooked in the decoration of the missionary-room window. What could symbolize more significantly the propagating spirit of the missionary enterprise than this persistently spreading little strawberry vine?

The design and treatment of both glass and color decorations are so peculiarly novel and pleasing through originality of conception and delicacy of skill that curiosity is aroused as to the artistic source. One ought not to wonder and yet is pleasantly surprised to learn that they are the inspiration of feminine genius. Every part of the color scheme was composed by the united talent of two pupils of the late William M. Hunt: Mrs. Sarah W. Whitman, of Boston, and the pastor's wife, Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman. Working under the influence of sincere delight, loving sympathy, and reverent and patient care, with native gifts

developed under the high ideals of such masterly teaching, is it any wonder that they have satisfied the artistic feeling in a result so harmonious, so chaste, so suggestive, so free from exaggeration?

Nor should we be forgetful of the excellence of the workmanship that has brought the fine feeling of the designers into reality. A genuine sympathy with their aims has evidently guided the hand of the colorists in the use of their materials. And the same praise for sincere and skillful workmanship must be accorded to those who have been responsible for the mechanical and constructive detail of every part of the building.

Considering the magnitude of their undertaking, and the materials in which they have wrought, the committee have achieved their success at a very reasonable expense. We have permission to say that the entire cost of the church property, including land (\$11,000), construction, decoration, furnishing, lighting and heating, organ, architect's fee, and grading and curbing the lot, — everything, indeed, — is not far from \$96,000. How much watchfulness and carefulness on the part of the committee and conscientious superintendence on the part of the architect all this represents can be estimated only by those whose experience in similar enterprises has given them the requisite power of judging.

As a gratifying result of their unwearied exertion and patient endurance, Dr. Merriman and his co-workers upon the committee have delivered to their parish a commodious and convenient church, full of useful, original thoughts and ennobling suggestions expressed in rare completeness and fitness of architectural design; the interior and exterior of which harmoniously explain each other in their united fidelity to a high ideal. The city of Worcester is to be congratulated upon the addition of such a noble ornament to her architecture. It is a church that a professional critic may generously admire, even with his reservations that in some points justly will be made, and whose sincere yet cheerful expression of sanctity might induce a Quaker to take off his hat upon entering. These builders have not wrought merely for their own delight or present use; they have built for remote generations. They have labored in a spirit that will make their work a memorial and a monument. It will become the precious inheritance of grateful successors, and gather around it the richest of all glories for man's handiwork, — the venerable glory of age.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE IDEA OF GOD AS AFFECTED BY MODERN KNOWLEDGE. By JOHN FISKE. Pp. 173. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1886.

THIS short treatise, which has appeared as lecture, magazine article, and book, is receiving a warm welcome on account of the opinion it advocates rather than for the reasoning it advances in favor of that opinion. Surprise is expressed that Mr. Fiske, a thorough-going evolutionist, and a devoted disciple of Mr. Spencer, declares himself to be a theist. The

public says that Mr. Fiske is an evolutionist and *yet* a theist. He himself says that he is an evolutionist and *therefore* a theist. Religious people are so glad to know that an advanced Darwinian believes in God that they deem it ungracious to scrutinize the considerations by which he is controlled.

The author does not altogether relish the implications which are involved in the kind of welcome he receives. He does not like to be treated as a convert. The opinions of this book are, he claims, in complete agreement with the principles of his earlier works. He is now only carrying his former views out to their legitimate results. But since even anti-theistic writers failed to discover theism in his writings heretofore published, he admits that his opinion was only involved but not expressed. He also admits that the conclusion he has now reached was not very clear even to his own mind till quite recently : —

"When, after long hovering in the background of consciousness, it suddenly flashed upon me two years ago, it came with such vividness as to seem like a revelation."

It should not seem strange, then, to Mr. Fiske, that what was in the background of his own consciousness when he wrote his books, and remained there for a period of ten years afterwards, should not have been obvious to his readers. And if the new view of his old principle came to him with the vividness of a revelation, and impelled him to write "The Destiny of Man" and "The Idea of God," he should not complain if his readers discover in his later a decided advance on his former works. However, we have no interest in this question of consistency. Consistency has been called the bugbear of narrow minds. We wonder that Mr. Fiske took the trouble to defend himself against the charge of self-contradiction. It would have been enough to say, as he does say, "to carry such a subject about in one's mind for ten years without having any new thoughts about it would hardly be a proof of fitness for philosophizing."

The value of this book is the impression it intentionally makes that theism is necessary to any comprehensive view of evolution. What we find is, not a few concessions to belief in a God, not the admission that evolution does not necessarily exclude such belief, but the earnest contention that evolution culminating in man is absolutely inexplicable except as the expression of divine purpose. He agrees with Professor Asa Gray, who says that what we get is not a system which may be adjusted to theism, nor even one which finds its most reasonable interpretation in theism, but one which theism only can account for.

A feature of the discussion which is made conspicuous, and which to many readers will be surprising, is the justification of an anthropomorphic conception of God. God must be conceived as in some respects like man. It is more justifiable to liken God in his working to mind and will than to liken him to physical force. A psychical is more exalted than a physical conception. "Infinite Power," after all, is not so good nor so true an appellation as "Infinite Person." What expresses itself in rationality cannot be described in terms which are derived from manifestations of physical power. Mind has a higher kinship with God than matter has. God is "quasi-personal."

Evolution is believed to require theism for the reason that purpose is clearly disclosed in the development of the earth. The old teleological argument from the adaptation of special organs is worthless, and is to

be replaced by a new teleological argument which sees in the superiority and supremacy of man a dramatic arrangement of the inorganic and organic constituents of the globe. Man is the culmination of all earthly processes. Human society makes steady progress from savagery and barbarism to ever higher stages of civilization :—

“A stage of civilization will be reached in which human sympathy shall be all in all, and the Spirit of Christ shall reign supreme throughout the length and breadth of the earth.”

Again :—

“The glorious consummation toward which organic evolution is tending is the production of the highest and most perfect psychical life.”

Mr. Fiske thinks it impossible to find evidences of purpose in the vast astronomic story of the universe. Our imagination is able to compass only the earth. He advocates what might be called tellurian teleology. Still, he recognizes that the universe is one, that the same laws are at work in the remotest stars as in the earth, and that one thought or plan includes all existence.

Mr. Fiske's theory is, then, that the idea of God is a deduction from the universe. The purpose which is discovered in that portion of the universe which we inhabit, the unity which is discovered in that portion of it which is brought to our knowledge, demand for their explanation an infinite Power, or rather an infinite Person. Now we do not deny that the idea of God becomes more vivid and perhaps more intelligent as the universe is more widely and intimately known. To gain an enlarged view of the scope of God's purpose, and to push the extent of the universe out beyond the horizon of sight to the farthest horizon of imagination, is to behold more clearly the glory of God. The old evidences of law and order and purpose, which Mr. Fiske revives by new and impressive illustrations, have a legitimate use in confirmation of belief in God. If Mr. Fiske means only that they require God for their explanation we entirely agree with him. But if he means, as we suppose he does, that the idea of God is a deduction from the universe, we cannot be satisfied with his reasoning, nor consent to rest our belief on so insecure a foundation. He says that our ability to frame an idea (and therefore the idea of God) is limited strictly by experience, and that our experience does not furnish the materials for the idea of a personality which is not narrowly hemmed in by the inexorable barriers of circumstances. Yet one of the chapters is entitled *The Eternal Source of Phenomena*, and God is designated as the Infinite and Absolute. After all, then, there is that in the necessary action of the observing mind which, when phenomena are presented, discovers in them expressions of Absolute Reason. The idea of God is not a deduction from experience, but a truth of reason. Belief in God is not experimental and probable, but rational and necessary. This is not the place to enter into the theistic discussion. We only indicate the fact that Mr. Fiske's theistic reasoning is of that type which has always failed under the ultimate tests both of philosophy and theology. Although he sneers at Paley, and would replace the simile of a watch by the simile of a flower, he really does no more than to apply Paley's principle. The principle is that purpose in the universe gives the idea of God. The discovery that purpose is embodied vitally rather than mechanically, in growths rather than in contrivances, does not change the principle.

In accordance with the view that the idea of God is dependent on the knowledge man has of the universe, Mr. Fiske assumes that the modern extension of knowledge has caused an enormous revolution in the conception of God. A graphic chapter describes the sweeping away of nearly all former theories of the world and the establishment of entirely new theories, and especially in the present century. And yet we are assured a few pages later that in its fundamental features the theism of Jesus and Paul was so true that it must endure as long as man endures. So that modern knowledge of the universe has not materially changed the idea of God which was advanced when the earth was believed to be flat and nothing was known of evolution.

At another point it is affirmed that what survives in the theism of to-day is essentially that which was believed by primitive men. If the idea of God depends on knowledge of the universe, an essential change in the conception of the universe should produce an essential change in the idea of God. But that idea is essentially the same in primitive as in modern man. We must, therefore, conclude that the idea of God is not derived from knowledge of the universe.

Mr. Fiske's account of the historical development of the idea of God seems to be shaped by his theory rather than by the conclusive testimony of facts. He has taken as primitive ideas some of the personifications of nature which are found in the polytheism of the historic period, ignoring the probability that polytheism was a comparatively late development from the simpler beliefs of preceding times. Among the Indo-Europeans, at least, it is probable that the earlier belief did not recognize many gods, although it was not monotheistic in the abstract sense. The opinion that among some peoples belief in God originated in dreams about the dead, and in belief in ghosts, is open to so much question that it is not legitimate to assume it without evidence in a sober discussion of theism. It seems to have no other ground than the fact that it is the custom with many nations now to worship ancestors and that belief in ghosts is universal. Mr. Spencer's primitive ghosts have been laid so many times that service to which they never were equal should no longer be expected of them.

Mr. Fiske's tendency to generalize broadly on an insufficient basis of fact is betrayed also in his sketch of later forms of theism. That there has been crudity and absurdity cannot be denied. That the Greek Fathers had a more profound conception of the immanence of God than the Latin Church possessed is very true. The emphasis was not the same. Certain characteristics were peculiar to each. But Clement did not think of God as purely immanent, nor did Augustine think of Him as purely transcendent. Augustine would not recognize his opinion in Mr. Fiske's account of it. Again we ask how Clement and Athanasius gained an idea of God which can be so highly praised when they had so erroneous conceptions of the universe.

We do not believe, as Mr. Fiske implies, that the Hebrew idea of Jehovah grew out of Rachel's stolen teraphim, nor that the elohistic conception of God was a form of polytheism.

It appears, then, that Mr. Fiske's account of the evolution of the idea of God does not sufficiently agree with facts, besides leaving many facts out of account. He is inconsistent with himself in claiming on the one hand that the modifications of the idea of God which have been produced by enlarging knowledge of the universe amount to a revolution of

the idea, and on the other hand that in its essential features the idea of God is found in the earliest times. Modifications in theism only give articulate voice to "time-honored" truths, and yet the essential element in time-honored truths is only that which fetichism has in common with Christianity. It is not easy to bring these statements into agreement. The book is valuable, because it shows that the energy of God is as necessary to the explanation of the universe when the processes of nature and history are viewed comprehensively as when they are viewed narrowly. Beyond the necessity of thought which is thus disclosed, it contributes little or nothing to the discussion of theism either on the historical or the philosophical side. It is inferior in originality and in interest to "The Destiny of Man." There are many incidental observations of a striking character, notably a passage which describes the fear often entertained that the advances of science would banish God from those portions of the universe which are found to be under law.

George Harris.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE APOSTLE PAUL ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY. By OTTO PFLIEDERER, D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Translated by J. Frederick Smith. [The Hibbert Lectures. 1885.] Pp. 238.

DR. PFLIEDERER has given in these lectures a succinct, and, considering the nature of the subject and extent of ground covered, remarkably lucid statement of the positions ably maintained in his "Paulinism." One who wishes to acquaint himself with the latest product of the Tübingen school of criticism will find it an agreeable task to read this well-printed volume. And, however widely he may differ from the conclusions reached, he cannot fail to be stimulated and instructed by contact with a mind so vigorous and so well versed in the literature discussed. Dr. Pfleiderer finds the task he sets himself in the title of his book separating itself by a natural division into two parts, namely, showing the distinctive ideas of Paul, and tracing their immediate influence on the mind of the church. That which is most central and formative in Paulinism is, he thinks, its Christology. The special (though not miraculous) revelation made to the Apostle of the Gentiles gave him a more spiritual, and so a juster, apprehension of Christ than that possessed by the earlier apostles. Paul alone saw Christ, not after the flesh, but in his preëxistent and superhuman being; the archetypal man; the link between man and God, to whom even divine predicates could be applied. The entrance of Christ into human life, to reveal God and draw sinful man to Him, is essential Christianity. True, Paul conceived of Christ's life as having as its immediate goal his expiatory death as a ransom for sinful man. But this is only a conception derived from Jewish theology which lies in the apostle's mind by the side of his vital Christian conceptions, and unassimilated by them. It implies a conception of God antagonistic to that which really shapes Paul's theology. But the contrariety was not felt by the apostle, because he conceived of the act by which the vicarious atonement is accepted as bringing experience of a Father whose forgiving love has prepared the way for his wandering children's return. So the theology, in its working elements, holds a more gracious conception of God than that which Pfleiderer finds in the doctrine of vicarious atonement. The practical side of the teaching, and the source of its power, is its mysticism —

the immediate union of man with God through Christ. This implies both freedom from the yoke of the law, for the act of self-surrender in which this union is established is the antithesis of legal obedience; and the religious equality of all believers, inasmuch as faith gives divine sonship to all. The sonship is realized through the Spirit; in Paul's teaching alone the principle of the new life, instead of a special and temporary gift.

We have not space, of course, to discuss this presentation of Paul's theology, but will merely say that the readers of our author's "Paulinism" find there a reason for his criticism of Paul's view of the atonement not apparent in these lectures. It is his exegesis of the passages in which Christ is said to have died for man. They are so interpreted as to be made to teach that the punishment due to human sin was laid upon Him. That which we regard as the better exegesis simply makes the passages declare, without explaining, the expiatory value of his violent death, and does not give an element to Paul's doctrine of atonement inconsistent with his highest conception of God. Dr. Pfeiderer's fidelity to the interpreter's task is shown by his adopting a rendering which obliges him to carry a deep inconsistency into the theology of so powerful and consecutive a thinker as he holds Paul to have been.

In tracing the influence of Paulinism Dr. Pfeiderer follows pretty closely the footsteps of the Tübingen writers. He differs from them, it is true, in his estimate of the Acts, and makes the important admission that the narrative of chapter xv. is essentially true. But, like them, he finds the key to the history of the apostolic and post-apostolic church in the assumed antagonism between Paulinism and Jewish Christianity and their gradual reconciliation. The obvious difficulty presented by the formal recognition of the rights of Gentile Christians at the apostolic conference is met by saying that the author of the Acts probably minimized the concessions made to the Judaizers; that the conditions imposed on the Gentile Christians were presumably identical with such as were laid on proselytes at the gate, and implied that the former were to occupy in the church a position analogous to the relation which the latter sustained to the Jewish congregation. But this theory (which, by the way, has found favor with writers entirely at variance with the Tübingen school) makes Paul's emphatic statement that his principles were in no way contravened by the decision of the council so deficient in candor as to be irreconcilable with the character of the man.

Dr. Pfeiderer meets the chief historical objection to the Tübingen theory — the fusion of Jewish and Gentile Christians in the Old Catholic Church — with a claim that the belief of either party gradually lost its most characteristic features, and that unifying elements rapidly developed in their respective theologies. But the evidence adduced in behalf of this ably stated theory seems meagre. The "modified Paulinism" of the Gospel of Luke, the Epistle to the Hebrews, written, it is thought, to Jewish Christians in Italy, in the reign of Domitian, and the Epistle of Barnabas show the unification of belief, it is urged. But arguments from the Paulinism of the third Gospel have, it is not presumptuous to say, an unsubstantial foundation. And the Epistle to the Hebrews lies little nearer the Judaizing conception of Christianity than does the Epistle to the Romans. "We have an altar whereof they have no right to eat who serve the tabernacle." And Barnabas — how can a document so violently anti-Jewish show an approach of the two streams of thought?

We cannot follow Dr. Pfeiderer's sketch of the influence of Paulinism into the second century. The assumption of the post-Pauline authorship of the Epistles to the Colossians and the Ephesians, and the Pastoral Epistles, gives it an *ex parte* appearance. It is greatly to be regretted that the author's limits prevented his giving at least a summary of the critical arguments for assigning these letters to followers of Paul writing in the second century, and especially for assigning the Pastoral Epistles to the last half of the century. As it is, the author's treatment of them must wear, to many of his readers, the appearance of arbitrariness.

Edward Y. Hincks.

DIE HAUPTPROBLEME DER ALTISRAELITISCHEN RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE GEGENÜBER DEN ENTWICKELUNGSTHEORETIKERN. Beleuchtet von Lic. Dr. FRIEDRICH EDUARD KÖNIG, Privatdocent der Theologie an der Universität Leipzig. 12mo, pp. 108. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1884.

THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF ISRAEL: A Discussion of the Chief Problems in Old Testament History as opposed to the Development Theorists. By DR. FRIEDRICH EDUARD KÖNIG. The University, Leipzig. Translated by Rev. Alex. J. Campbell, M. A., Barry. 12mo, pp. viii., 192. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

THIS little book is a notable one. It is addressed to those who are interested, whether professionally or unprofessionally, in the history of religion. Kuenen's translation into German occasioned it. But Vatke, Daumer, Ghillany, Noack, Duhm, Wellhausen, Stade, Smend, and others are reviewed in it. Dr. König faces them boldly but not blindly. Himself an adherent of the Graffian hypothesis, he moderates the extreme claims of members of that school. His work is marked by a scientific aim, clear statement, sound scholarship, candid argumentation, and a spirit of mingled conservatism and progress. By its conciseness and its untechnicalness it forms a helpful handbook in the mazes of Old Testament discussion.

The method is excellent. What was the religion of the majority of the Israelites in the age of Moses? What was the monotheism of ancient Israel compared with the "ethical monotheism" of the prophets? Was Jahveh originally regarded as fire, as heaven, as an idea? Was there in Jahvism a development on the side of Jahveh's moral character? What legal basis had Jahvism before the prophets? Did the early Jahvism lack the idea of the future universality of Israel's salvation? These and other questions are taken up in thirteen acute and weighty chapters. The answers on the whole are admirable. We would commend to our readers especially chapter v., on the origin of the name Jahveh, and chapter viii., on the Calf-worship and the attitude of the Prophets toward it.

The author's point of view throughout is Biblical. His appeal is to the facts of Israel's religious history. Romans i. 11 - iii. 28 is to him the substance of all religious science. Truth is his great aim. But confessedly he does not believe that the necessary fruit of the development of true science is the ignoring of the prophetic and apostolic conceptions of the world.

The conclusion of his inquiry is this: —

"The fundamental elements of the Old Testament Religion were not changed by written prophecy, and the historic phases of the religion of Moses were no alterations of the substance of that religion."

We cite two specimens of Dr. König's vigorous manner. The first is against Wellhausen's theory of the natural origin of the Passover (p. 90) :—

"It is traditionally inconsistent and inherently impossible that the Feast of the Passover should have acquired its historic significance unless occasioned by historic facts."

The second is against Kuenen, who maintains that Jahveh was born out of the national self-consciousness, growing with its growth, declining with its decline. König retorts (p. 42) :—

"What say the facts of history? Why, simply that faith in Jahveh must have withered speedily after Joshua's death and long before the era of written prophecy, unless Israel had deemed the might of her God a thing apart from her own post-Mosaic history, and had attained in Moses and Joshua's day an overwhelming impression of the uniqueness of the Supernatural Being presiding over her destiny."

A good translation of so solid and timely a work would have been a boon. Rev. Mr. Campbell has not given it. His renderings are awkward, slovenly, and too often incorrect. He has not even taken pains to state the author's aim in the English equivalent of the author's language. It were something even to give back the sentiment of Dr. König's masterly study. We regret to say that page after page fails to do this. The last half is much better than the first.

The phrase in the original, "Development-Theorists," has given needless offense. It seems to us a justifiable epigram. We are less able to acquit Dr. König of occasional straining in exegesis and leaping to conclusions.

The work as a whole is a successful effort to mediate between traditionalism and radicalism. Its merit is that of repressing audacity and reconciling antagonisms in the field of sacred criticism.

John Phelps Taylor.

A LAYMAN'S STUDY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE, Considered in its Literary and Secular Aspect. By FRANCIS BOWEN, LL. D., Alford Professor of Philosophy in Harvard College. New York : Chas. Scribner's Sons. 1885.

THIS little book consists apparently of lectures delivered by the author to his students, and makes a very pleasant impression. Professor Bowen has always been the sturdy champion of theism and Christianity against materialistic and pantheistic views, and this book is filled with a cordial, almost evangelical, appreciation of and reverence for the Bible. He considers the Bible as literature and subdivides the theme thus :—

"I. Introduction : The Bible as an English Classic. II. The Narratives in the Old Testament. III. The Parables of our Lord—The Gospel Narrative. IV. The Philosophy of the Bible. V. The Poetry of the Bible. VI. The History contained in the Bible—The Character and the Institutions of Moses."

There is manifestly little arrangement in the order of these chapters, but each subject is treated with breadth and clearness in a manner to inspire and kindle renewed interest in the Bible as literature. The best chapter, as might be expected, is the fourth, in which these seven fundamental truths are found in the Philosophy of the Bible :—

"1. God is one. 2. God is a spirit. 3. God made the world. 4. The dis-

tinct personality both of man and God, so that each is a spiritual being capable of holding intercourse with the other. 5. God governs the world in righteousness, rewarding those who keep, and punishing those who disobey, his commands. 6. In each of his functions, as Creator, Sovereign, Lawgiver, and Judge, God is love. 7. As He is our Father, all mankind are our brethren; and the whole duty of man is summed up in the comprehensive injunction, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, and thy neighbor as thyself."

In the early part of this chapter Professor Bowen admirably defends the Biblical teaching that "there was a primeval revelation of God's truth to man," as against the evolution-hypothesis of man's progress from barbarism to civilization. Yet we imagine that few would agree with the statement that "the two exclusively human endowments of language and the use of fire prove conclusively that man was originally taught by God."

The general criticism to be made on the book as a whole is that it is only very partially representative of the Bible as literature. Only one chapter is devoted to the whole New Testament, and this is half occupied with the Parables, and half with the author's rather crude views of the origin of the Four Gospels. The Prophets, the Acts, Epistles, Revelation, and John's Gospel all are entirely passed over, though as literature they furnish remarkable specimens of argument, eloquence, and sublime monologue. A good deal of irrelevant matter like the discussion of the origin of the Gospels might well have given place to a fuller recognition of the literary excellences of the Bible.

Errors of detail are not difficult to find. For instance, the number of obsolete words in the Authorized Version cannot "almost be counted on the fingers" (p. 11) — except by Briareus. The strophic structure of Hebrew poetry, which has been so ably expounded by Professor C. A. Briggs, is ignored (p. 92), and the old exploded notion that numbers were expressed by letters in the Hebrew Scriptures, instead of being (as they *are*) written out in words, is apparently favored (p. 131). Professor Bowen also inclines (pp. 108, 113) to a remote antiquity for the book of Job, which is now very generally denied by the best scholarship, and the Pharisees probably held the doctrine of the resurrection far more positively than he is willing to concede (p. 83). He entirely fails (p. 118) to do justice to the existing consensus among German critics on some components of the Pentateuch, and especially of Genesis. And our author is still more unjust to the Revision when (p. 13), speaking of the Magnificat, he says: —

"The Revisers of 1881 have altered it, and not for the better. For 'put down the mighty from their seats,' they have substituted 'put down princes from their thrones.' Stilted! For 'his mercy is on them that fear him from generation to generation,' as it stands in the common version, they have put 'his mercy is unto generations and generations on them that fear him.' Awkward and a spoiling of the rhythm! 'In remembrance of his mercy as he spake to our fathers, to Abraham and to his seed forever,' they have altered into 'that he might remember mercy (as he spake unto our fathers), toward Abraham and his seed forever.' Uncouth and un-English! Such are the consequences of intruding nineteenth-century phraseology into the pure and musical idiom of the sixteenth century! And who will say that the meaning or the poetry of this grand old psalm has profited by the change?"

I will venture to say that in each instance the meaning at least has decidedly profited by the change. A glance at his Greek Testament ought to show Professor Bowen that the Authorized Version has mis-

translated the original (with one slight difference of text) in all these instances, while the Revision has given a literal and correct rendering of them.

Our author is not much more fortunate in his exegesis than in his Biblical criticism. For few, I imagine, will believe that Christ spoke the parable of the Lost Sheep because He saw it acted out before Him at the time (p. 41). Nor is it the "eagerness of divine compassion to reclaim the fallen," "the encouragement to repentance," which we find shining through the parable of the Friend at Midnight, but rather the exhortation to persistent prayer. Nor, again, is the episode of the Elder Brother added to the parable of the Prodigal Son because "this brings out still more forcibly the patience which cannot be wearied, the tenderness which knows no bounds, the infinite pity of the Father" (p. 43). And it would have been well if Professor Bowen had consulted the despised Revision before he ventured such an exegesis as this of John v. 39 (p. 59), which breaks with the whole context:—

"‘Search the Scriptures,’ says our Lord, ‘for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me;’ that is, you must *search* in order to find in them either the law or the testimony. But *search*, and ye will find both,” etc.

But these errors are for the most part outside of the main current of the book. We welcome this volume as a contribution to the appreciation of the Bible on grounds hitherto but little recognized. The great issue on which this book is a timely utterance is well stated at its close. We will end with the citation, which exhibits the helpful nature of the work:—

"For either the one God, Father of all, the God alike of Jew, Christian, and Mahometan, still lives and reigns enthroned above all height, still moves and governs the universe which He created, or there comes a wail of never-dying sorrow from an orphan world and a dead eternity, a pitiable cry which declares existence to be a burden and a wrong, and bids us eat, drink, and rot, for to-morrow we sleep and never wake again."

C. J. H. Ropes.

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MOVEMENTS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN BRITAIN DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. St. Giles' Lectures. By JOHN TULLOCH, D. D., LL. D., Senior Principal in the University of St. Andrews. 8vo, pp. xi., 338. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

THIRTY-ONE years ago the author of these lectures delivered his inaugural address as Principal and Professor of Theology, St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. His theme was, "Theological Tendencies of the Age." Three main currents were recognized: one, denominated Traditionalism; another, Rationalism; a third, unnamed but described and warmly commended as at once conservative and progressive,—"conservative in the strictest sense as believing the Bible to contain the perfect and completed statement of the truth for all ages of the church; progressive, as believing that the church must yet, with an advancing culture and a higher and richer power of criticism, ever grasp this truth in new relations, and under more fresh and comprehensive aspects." The volume before us, when compared with this inaugural lecture, shows how richly a candid, gifted man, devoted by his calling as a teacher of theology to sacred studies, has taken up into his culture the most vital thought of his age.

At the beginning of his public career he was sensitive to the atmosphere of his time. In the ripeness of his years he shows that he has mastered the forces whose power earlier he had felt but had not fully understood. To us the chief value of these attractive, discriminating, and thoughtful lectures lies in the lesson they convey of the growth that comes to a man who seeks to learn the lessons of his own day in the spirit of a humble and reverent search for truth. The spirit of the inaugural address and of the St. Giles' lectures is the same, though richer and riper in the latter; the general doctrinal attitude is not materially changed, although positions are reached beyond, perhaps, what would once have been deemed legitimate or safe; and the outcome is a certainty of faith, a breadth of view, a charity and cheerful hopefulness as respects present movements of Christian thought, which are nurtured and justified by the insight which he has gained into the true meaning and purpose of the history that has been making since the century opened.

These lectures, however, do not give more than a few hints as to the developments of the last twenty-five years. For the most part they deal exclusively with the first half and the sixth decade of the nineteenth century. They are limited, also, as their title indicates, to impulses which have modified men's thinking upon religious subjects. Merely philanthropic or practical movements, or ecclesiastical changes, or traditional influences, do not come under review. Without criticising for his omissions an author who has done so well, we cannot but wish that he had given us a lecture upon the influence on religious thought of the benevolent enterprises of recent times, especially those which have been prompted by a humane spirit, and by missionary zeal. The long struggle against slavery, the temperance and other reforms, have not only been incited and sustained by religious motives in their most effective work, but they have clarified Christian thought itself. The doctrine of God which is now making itself effective in theology feels the influence of the principle of humaneness which has gained such power in the sphere of practical activity. So, even more directly, is the impulse to Christian missions which marks the decades reviewed by our author fruitful in its influence upon religious opinion. The missionary idea, as now apprehended, is as really a contribution to modern thought as anything brought out by either of the men whose influence is carefully traced and estimated. And at this point, to say the least, the evangelical school, which is left out of account as not tributary to the later progress of thought, deserves recognition. It has contributed one of the most fruitful ideas of modern times, and one in which are concentrated some of the sublimest principles of Christianity.

Dr. Tulloch is always skillful in his choice of subjects as in other elements of literary success. Few more inviting themes can be suggested than the topics of these eight lectures: Coleridge and his School; The Early Oriol School (Hawkins, Whately, Arnold, Hampden, Thirlwall, Milman, to mention only the chief names); The Oxford Movement; George Combe, Thomas Erskine, Macleod Campbell, Edward Irving, representing the new religious thought in Scotland; Thomas Carlyle as a Religious Teacher; John Stuart Mill and his School — Grote, Lewes; Maurice and Kingsley; F. W. Robertson and Bishop Ewing. Whatever we may miss, here is an abundance of important and attractive material. Dr. Tulloch's extensive personal acquaintance, as well as his knowledge of the literature of his subjects, enhances the value of his

work. Some of its finest touches are found in discriminations of character.

A volume which treats of so many themes must content itself with suggestions of points of view, condensed judgments, and sufficient amplification and illustration to make itself everywhere clear and helpful. If a fitting bibliography could be added it would be of still more service to students of modern thought.

It would exceed our space, and is unnecessary for our present purpose, to follow the successive lectures. We can sufficiently further indicate the quality and method of the book by noticing the treatment of the opening topic, Coleridge as a Religious Thinker. The object proposed is not so much a critical estimate of the value of his influence, as a description of its transforming or moulding power. What new impulse did it give, what contribution did it make, to modern thought? is the question put and answered. Coleridge, it is claimed, originated a new and salutary movement; (1) by renovating current Christian ideas, (2) by promoting an advance in Biblical study, (3) by introducing an enlarged conception of the church. The first of these points is the most elaborated, and the material for the discussion is drawn chiefly from "The Aids to Reflection." Coleridge, our author says most justly, "was no mere metaphysician. He was a great interpreter of spiritual facts,—a student of spiritual life, quickened by a peculiarly vivid and painful experience." Christianity was definitely conceived of by him as a remedy for sin; indeed, sin and redemption are to him the two poles of its axis; but it is not an interpolation in human history, nor a mere scheme or means to an end outside itself. On the contrary, it reaches back to man's original constitution and onwards to his highest well being. It is not merely the principle of recovery to life, but also of complete and perfect education in all the spheres of human interest and action. No evangelical theologian or preacher has more strenuously insisted on the necessity of Christian faith; but faith was not divorced from reason, nor construed as a mere act of submission to outward authority whether of Rome or the letter of Scripture. It is an intelligent, rational, spiritual act, implying a "vital touch" of the infinite and absolute Reality which is correlated to the soul in all the departments of its being. Dr. Tulloch says most truly:—

"The really vital question is whether there is a divine root in man at all—a spiritual centre answering to a spiritual centre in the universe. All controversies of any importance come back to this. Coleridge would have been a great Christian thinker if for no other reason than this, that he brought all theological problems back to this living centre, and showed how they diverged from it."

Dr. Tulloch, in concluding his discussion of this aspect of Coleridge's teaching, calls attention to its discernment of the limits of human reason, and suggests that the greatest change to be expected in the theology of the future is its recognition of a region of the unknown. He admits, however, that Coleridge was in no sense an agnostic as the word is now applied. Indeed, there would be danger, if we mistake not, of an undue, or rather of an unbalanced, exaltation of reason, through his influence, unless it were realized how thoroughly ethical and spiritual is his conception of this power. If reason be conceived of as a purely intellectual attribute, the truths of faith can never become mere truths of reason, even when faith gives place to sight. Christianity is not so many new ideas

communicated to men, nor a mere recovery of old ones. If God is a Person He is forever to be trusted in as well as known.

Dr. Tulloch awards to Coleridge the honor of "having first plainly and boldly announced that the Scriptures were to be read and studied, like any other literature, in the light of their continuous growth, and the adaptation of their parts to one another." We trust that Dr. Tulloch's account of Coleridge's "Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit" will lead many to recur to it. We have been deeply impressed, in reperusing it, with its suggestiveness for the discussions concerning inspiration which are now engaging so widely the attention of the Christian public.

The third aspect of the Coleridgian movement is presented by considering the work "On the Constitution of Church and State according to the idea of each." This treatise has less interest and value for us than for Coleridge's countrymen, important as it may be, and we will not follow Dr. Tulloch in his comments, which are noticeably brief.

Dr. Tulloch rates Coleridge very high, but not, we are persuaded, at all too high. He has summoned many a man, as with a prophet's authority, really to think upon religious themes, and has caused him to face the problems of the spiritual life honestly and manfully. Coleridge cannot be held in too high honor in this regard, and his work is by no means done.

This rapid sketch will suggest, perhaps, the method and spirit of Dr. Tulloch's book. It does no justice to its literary charm, nor to the lucidity, aptness, and range of its expositions. It will be widely read, as it deserves to be.

A further suggestion may not be amiss. Dr. Tulloch speaks disparagingly at times of religious dogma, meaning, as we understand him, not the primary truths of revelation, nor these as appropriated in Christian experience, but theological statements or propositions which have been elaborated by reflection. He regards such results as divisive. "Dogma," he says, "splits rather than unites, from its very nature." We think that this is a low and unworthy conception of dogma; and that a rational or scientific apprehension of Christianity ought not to be put in antagonism to the work of the Holy Spirit, whose office is to unite Christians in the knowledge as well as in the love of truth.

Egbert C. Smyth.

AMERICAN COMMONWEALTHS. Kansas: The Prelude to the War for the Union. By LEVERETT W. SPRING. 16mo, pp. vi., 334. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885.

THE sub-title gives the author's point of view. He treats of Kansas as the place where that conflict between slavery and freedom began which ended only when the entire nation became free. Thus he deals chiefly with five years of the life of Kansas, from the organization of the territory in May, 1854, to the adoption of the Wyandotte Constitution in October, 1859. There is a brief, compact chapter, into which is condensed what our author calls "The Congressional pother, which resulted in the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill." There is a single chapter devoted to the years of the war for the Union. The rest of the book deals with the days when the North was stirred by stories of "bleeding Kansas." Brief as is the period, it furnishes abundant material for many volumes, and compels a judgment upon the character of some con-

spicuous persons whose rightful place in history may always be matter of dispute. Professor Spring has diligently read, sifted, and weighed the voluminous literature of that mad time. He has also put the men of that turbulent period in the scales and has dared to declare their levity. If some in Massachusetts will not like to see it written of Charles Sumner that he "was at home in tasks of rhetoric rather than of statesmanship," all the worshipers of old John Brown, of Osawatimie, will be shocked to hear him described as "a parenthesis in the history of Kansas;" while the surviving admirers of Senator General Jim Lane will be "fighting mad" when they read these closing words of his obituary: "Lane belonged to the basest, most mischievous class of politicians." There is no touch of poetic sentiment in such judgments. Indeed, all the poetry of the book is quoted from other authors and so indicated. His prefatory note intimates that his version is not "colored with the dyes in vogue twenty-five years ago." Little coloring matter, old or new, seems to have been used. The most conspicuous men of "bleeding Kansas" appear in various shades of black. There is one notable exception, Governor Robinson. He shines forth, luminous in his dark surroundings, brightening the darkness which our author has made for him, because of the paint with which he has covered him. It must be far more grateful to the governor than the dyes of the days when Mr. Jim Lane took the seat in the United States Senate which the governor very much desired. Yet even here our author, despite the demands of friendship, lets you see his hero as an abolitionist at the head of a party whose avowed purpose is to make a State in which there shall be no colored men, as a man depending on finesse rather than on the truth of his convictions to gain his ends.

Professor Spring has accomplished a difficult task not only in the spirit of a careful student, but also with the calm tone of a severe judge. Not even the person whom he eulogizes most goes forth from his court spotless. There were neither heroes nor saints in Kansas in the years of her making, if here is spoken the final word. John Brown was the occasion of the earlier Missouri invasions, and Jim Lane of the later. Of the Jayhawkers compared with the Missouri Bushwhackers, the last word of the latest Kansas historian is "Jayhawkers were the superior devils." No student of literature will for a moment imagine that such a story as this will be accepted by a proud State as a true judgment on the men and the events of its early life. But those who wish to challenge its accuracy, to put in its place a more poetic account of those years of savage strife, would do well to wait until time has consigned to oblivion the evil and left only the good to stimulate the young to heroic lives. Even then this careful, merciless criticism of "bleeding Kansas" will be very attractive to all who appreciate an honest attempt to be strictly just, even when the just judgments uttered are not flattering.

Professor Spring's book ought to be read by two classes of persons: first, those who have a very positive opinion about Kansas affairs; second, those who know nothing of Kansas history. The former will modify their opinions. The latter will learn what they can find nowhere else in such compact form, told in most attractive style.

James G. Dougherty.

OTTAWA, KANSAS.

STUDIES IN SHAKESPEARE. By RICHARD GRANT WHITE, editor of the Riverside Edition of Shakespeare's Works. Pp. 383. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1886.

MOST of the matter contained in this volume has previously appeared in magazines, and will not be new, therefore, to readers who keep themselves informed on current Shakespearean criticism. An introductory note, however, informs us that all the essays have been revised, and that the author added fresh matter to the paper on Shakespeare Glossaries and Lexicons, and a note on Mr. Walker's "Critical Examination of the Text." "It was while preparing this book for publication," says this introductory note, "that Mr. Grant White was seized by the long and painful illness from which recovery became impossible."

We have here, therefore, the author's last utterances upon a theme that his scholarship, his good sense, and his wit have done much to illuminate. On this theme he had earned the right to speak with authority, and even the casual reader of this volume will see that he did not hesitate to exercise that right. Indeed, so authoritative is his tone that the reader who has but a tinge of Falstaffian spirit is sometimes moved to refuse assent, on the sole ground that if assent were given it would seem to be "on compulsion." The controverted questions that have made the field of Shakespearean criticism a picturesque and lively battle field hitherto are settled, one after another, in the most positive way; and were it not for the fact that these questions are perverse, and will not stay settled, there would be renewed occasion to inquire if life is worth living. That Shakespeare was unhappy in his marriage, — that his Sonnets are plainly autobiographical, — that Hamlet was only feigning madness, — that Jacques was an exhausted and cynical *roué* (Alexander Smith says "he had the making of a charming essayist"), — that metrical tests are of little value, — that German commentators are, of necessity, both foolish and impertinent, — these propositions, and others of like character, are assumed or asserted with a confidence that would, perhaps, be more reassuring if it were not so strongly emphasized. And yet the reader — if he be not one of the unfortunate Germans, or the industrious Mrs. Pott, with her "Promus of Formularies" — cannot fail to be entertained by the very exuberance of Mr. White's emphasis.

The contents of the book are classified under four divisions: On Reading Shakespeare; Narrative Analysis; Miscellanies; Expositors. The first division, On Reading Shakespeare, consists of directions, suggestive and admirable, in answer to the question which had often been asked of the author — How to read Shakespeare. Mr. White calls it a "strange question," but his answer to it is so good, and contains so much that is helpful and wise, that it appears to have been a good question to ask. His brief, running commentary on the plays of Shakespeare's three periods goes far, in itself, to modify the almost contemptuous tone with which the author speaks of commentaries, and advises the reader to avoid them. Indeed, one is tempted to ask if Mr. White did not speak thus because he had outgrown the need of commentary, and had attained a height of critical knowledge and insight that made commentaries an impertinence to him. It may be that Shakespearean comment is not unlike the ladder of which the philosophizing Brutus speaks: —

"Whereto the climber-upward turns his face;
But, when he once attains the topmost round,

He then unto the ladder turns his back,
Looks in the clouds, scorning the base degrees
By which he did ascend."

The second division, entitled *Narrative Analysis*, contains the stories of "Macbeth," "Hamlet," "Othello," and "As You Like It," told in plain narrative prose, with such connecting links of interpretation as seemed to the author necessary to make the stories consistent and clear. It is, upon the whole, the least valuable part of the book, and one comes upon sentences, here and there, that a writer less fastidious than Mr. White might justly criticise.

The third division, of *Miscellanies*, opens happily with the question-begging title — *The Bacon-Shakespeare Craze*. The half-protesting, even playful, earnestness with which the author demolishes Mrs. Pott's "*Promus of Formularies*," and with it the whole theory which that remarkable book was written to advocate, is thoroughly enjoyable. In the light of this exposition, which is, as Shylock would say, "most sound," it is clear that, independently of her sex, Mrs. Pott has written herself down as one of the weaker vessels. "*King Lear*," its text, its plot, and its personages, furnishes a subject which Mr. White treats in characteristic fashion, with a wealth of critical knowledge and a fineness of poetic insight that are admirable. He characterizes this drama as "the largest in conception, noblest in design, richest in substance, and highest in finish of all Shakespeare's works, and which, had he written it alone (if we can suppose the existence of such a sole production), would have set him before all succeeding generations, the miracle of time." Next follow some shrewd and sensible observations on the inconsistencies and feebleness of *Stage Rosalinds*, and we come to the last essay in this division, *On the Acting of Iago*. Here we have a thorough and masterly analysis of a popular, selfish, scheming, unscrupulous villain, such as Shakespeare created for the ruin of *Othello*. "The moral," says Mr. White, with a touch of cynicism, "of Iago's part in the tragedy is: Distrust the man whose peculiar faculty, or chief desire, is to make friends. He is likely to be selfish; and if selfish he needs only temptation and opportunity to be a scoundrel."

The fourth and final division is devoted to *Expositors*, and is chiefly occupied with the derelictions, to call them by no severer name, of Mr. Dyce, Dr. Schmidt, and Mr. W. S. Walker. Mr. White was never a gentle critic, and his utterances in this review are far from having the chastened character which is thought to be fitting in last words. He is specially severe upon Dr. Schmidt's *Shakespeare-Lexicon*, primarily, of course, because he found much in it to condemn, but partly also, one suspects, because it is big, partly because it is grammatical, and partly because it is German. One who has frequently turned the pages of this elaborate work in a fruitless search for illumination does not feel like taking up the cudgels very earnestly in its defence, and yet it must be said that Mr. White allows his fervor sometimes to carry him beyond the bounds of fairness. He should, at least, have examined the book thoroughly before recording his condemnation of it.

"'T were good you do so much for charity."

Henry L. Chapman.

LYRICS AND OTHER POEMS. By RICHARD WATSON GILDER. 12mo, pp. xii., 251. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

AFTERNOON SONGS. By JULIA C. R. DORR. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

POEMS. By JAMES WILLSBRO. Pp. vi., 119. Philadelphia: Benjamin F. Lacy.

IN passing judgment on a book of poems, the difficulty always lies in the endeavor to find an objective standard. We cannot weigh poetry as we do hay, or measure it as we do wood. We cannot certify in pounds and feet, but only in feelings and impressions.

Poetry is quality rather than quantity, and derives its right to live from its power to give life. We ask therefore: Does this or that, purporting to contain poetry, contain a thing which elevates, inspires, or in some way adds a new force to our life? Has it such points of contact not merely with the transient mood of an individual, but with the "common sense of most," as to give it a vital hold upon men?

On laying down Mr. Gilder's "Lyrics" we find ourselves answering both yes and no. To say that he has given us something better than the average of contemporary poetry is higher praise than might at first thought appear; for it is probably true that a greater number of cultivated persons "meditate the muse" in our day than ever before in the history of the English tongue. Many of the poems here collected are already known to the public through the medium of "The Century Magazine" and other periodicals, and Mr. Gilder's readers will be glad to see them together in permanent form. The collection published ten years ago under the title of "The New Day," we may also add, makes one of the divisions of the present volume.

That Mr. Gilder has a true conception of his art is shown by the quatrain, Wanted, a Theme! as well as by the fine lyric, When the True Poet Comes!

There is genuine feeling in many of the poems, although a false note is struck here and there, and oftentimes unexpectedly. That he is capable of good workmanship there is abundant evidence. At the same time in some of the passages where we miss that exquisite finish which is so characteristic, for instance, of Mr. Aldrich's poems, we are conscious that a patient use of the file would have presented the thought in a more nearly perfect form. We cannot always successfully apply the crucial test of requiring every word to render a valid reason for its selection in preference to some other word. A word, or a phrase, is sometimes met with which is not in perfect "harmony with the environment." For example, the expression "for a day" at the end of The Dead Comrade does not seem to accord with the spirit of night which pervades the poem. The phrase "million-centuried thoughts" suggests "long, long thoughts."

Again, we can understand how the last stanzas of At the President's Grave might perhaps have assumed their present form from sympathy at the time, but they do not bear the test of sober reflection from the standpoint of truth.

The criticism to be brought against some of the sonnets is one which few writers of that intricate stanza entirely escape or even attempt to escape, — that the rule is not adhered to as to the unfolding of the thought.

It need not be inferred, however, that these matters of execution are the striking features of the book. The poems reveal an imagination of no mean order, and a love of the art of poetry for its own sake. They

deal with various phases of life, and, in spite of the occasional artificiality, reach at times below the surface to the inner springs.

Amid the pages of Mrs. Dorr's "Afternoon Songs," we imagine that we share in some degree the feeling of the lotos-eaters as they lingered in

"a land
In which it seemed always afternoon."

We fall straightway to forgetting ourselves in so restful an atmosphere. We forget the singer herself in listening to the songs. Poems which strike to the heart at once must have come from the heart.

It is not often that we find in a book of modern verse a score of sonnets equal to those with which this volume opens. When Lesser Loves, Darkness, George Eliot, and O Earth Art Thou Not Weary, may be mentioned among others as admirably conceived and executed.

The undertone in the minor key which runs through the book is an evidence not of weakness but of strength. It springs from a true human sympathy, and is never devoid of hope. There is no repining; there are no morbid thoughts. One is struck with the spirit of reverence and trust everywhere apparent.

Mrs. Dorr sees the poetic side of common things. The four letters with which Dr. Holmes's father recorded in an old almanac the birth of his now illustrious son is made the subject of a pleasing poem. The Fallow Field and An Old-Fashioned Garden are also titles which lie in the same direction.

It is noticeable, as showing a contrast with many of our poets, how little Mrs. Dorr depends on classical and historical or even legendary sources for inspiration. She takes nature at first hand. Birds, bees, flowers, and hills render her their tribute. And yet it is not a mere poetry of the fields, nothing of the hollow, merely descriptive kind. Everything is breathed into and humanized. Love of children and friends also finds its expression here.

In a word, we may say that this little volume, characterized as it is by simplicity, sympathy, reverence, poetic feeling and easy expression, contains a message for all lovers of genuine poetry.

Of Mr. Willsbro's "Poems" it is enough to say that his muse flies low. And, to apply two of his own lines,

"that low so low is made,
That a price on height is laid."

Samuel V. Cole.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

W. F. Draper, Andover. The Book of Daniel; or the Second Volume of Prophecy. Translated and Expounded. With a preliminary sketch of antecedent prophecy. By James G. Murphy, LL. D., D. D., T. C. D., Professor of Hebrew. 16mo, pp. vii., 206.

Roberts Brothers, Boston. Life and Letters of John Brown, Liberator of Kansas, and Martyr of Virginia. Edited by F. B. Sanborn. Portraits. 8vo, pp. 645. 1885. \$3.00.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. The Idea of God as Affected by Modern Knowledge. By John Fiske. 16mo, pp. xxxii., 173. 1886. \$1.00;—Darwinism and other Essays. By John Fiske. New Edition. Revised and Enlarged. 12mo, pp. vii., 374. 1885. \$2.00;—John Bunyan: His Life, Times, and Work. By John Brown, B. A., Minister of the Church at Bunyan Meet-

ing, Bedford. With Illustrations by Edward Whymper. 8vo, pp. xii., 498. 1885. \$4.50; — A Mortal Antipathy. First Opening of the New Portfolio. By Oliver Wendell Holmes. 12mo, pp. 307. 1885. \$1.50; — Bonnyborough, by Mrs. Adeline D. T. Whitney, author of "Faith Gartney's Girlhood," etc. 12mo, pp. iv., 388. 1886. \$1.50; — Myrtilla Miner. A Memoir. 16mo, pp. vi., 129. 1885. \$1.00.

From Congregational Sunday-School & Publishing Society, Boston. Sermons on the International Sunday-School Lessons for 1886. By the Monday Club. Eleventh Series. Pp. 459; — The Pilgrim Hand-Book on the International Lessons for 1886. For Senior Classes. By M. C. Hazard. Pp. 231; — The Same. For Intermediate Classes. By Mrs. William Barrows. Pp. 208.

Carl Schoenhof, Boston. Die Volksthümlichkeit der evangelischen Kirche. Ein Mahnruf, die "angenehme Zeit" nicht ungenutzt vorübergehen zu lassen. Von Rudolf Köhler, Königlicher Divisionspfarrer der 2. Division zu Danzig. Pp. v., 100. Leipzig: Johannes Lehmann. 1885. — Vom Tode zum Leben; oder, Zwanzig Jahre aus meinen Amtsleben, von W. Haslam. Frei aus dem Englischen übertragen von R. L. Schettler, Pfarrer in Cleinich bei Berncastel an der Mosel. Pp. xii., 363. Bonn: Johannes Schergens. 1885; — Henriette, Freiin von Heckendorff-Gutend. Blätter der Erinnerung von W. K. 2. durchgesehene Auflage. Pp. viii., 103. Bonn: Johannes Schergens. 1885.

Funk & Wagnalls, New York. "Defence and Confirmation" of The Faith. Six Lectures delivered before the Western Theological Seminary in the year 1885 on the foundation of the Elliott Lectureship. Pp. 201. 1885; — The Coming of the Lord. By Rev. John C. Rankin, D. D., 12mo, pp. xi., 83. 1885. 75 cents; — The Final Science; or, Spiritual Materialism. Being a strict application of the most approved modern scientific principles to the solution of the deepest problems of the age. 12mo, pp. 194. 1885. \$1.00; — Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book to the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, by Joh. Ed. Huther, Th. D., Pastor at Wittenförden bei Schwerin, translated from the fourth edition of the German by David Hunter, B. A.: and to the Epistle to the Hebrews, by Dr. Gottlieb Lünemann, Professor in Theology in the University of Göttingen, translated from the fourth edition of the German by Rev. Maurice J. Evans, B. A.: with a preface and supplementary notes to the American edition by Timothy Dwight, Professor of Sacred Literature in Yale College. Pp. ix., 753. 1885. \$3.00; — Sermons by T. De Witt Talmage, author of "Crumbs swept up," "The Abominations of Modern Society," etc., etc. Delivered in the Brooklyn Tabernacle. Phonographically Reported and Revised. First Series. Pp. x., 405. 1885; — The People's Bible: Discourses upon Holy Scripture. By Joseph Parker, D. D., Minister of the City Temple, Holborn Viaduct, London, author of "Ecce Deus," "The Paraclete," "The Priesthood of Christ," etc., etc. Vol. I. The Book of Genesis. Pp. xvi., 368; — Dr. Deems' Sermons. Forty-eight discourses, comprising every Sunday morning sermon preached from the pulpit of "The Church of the Strangers," by the pastor. 4to, pp. 304. 1885. \$1.50.

From E. B. Treat, New York. The Sabbath; Its Permanence, Promise and Defence. By W. W. Everts, D. D., author of "Pastor's Hand-Book," "The House of God." 12mo, pp. 278. 1885. \$1.00.

Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. My Religion. By Count Leo Tolstoi. Translated from the French. 12mo, pp. xii., 274. \$1.25.

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. The Greek Islands, and Turkey after the War. By Henry M. Field, D. D., author of "Egypt to Japan," "Among the Holy Hills," etc. 12mo, pp. vi., 228. 1885. \$1.50; — Tiryns: The Prehistoric Palace of the Kings of Tiryns. The Results of the Latest Excavations. By Dr. Henry Schliemann, author of "Troy and its Remains," "Mycena," "Ilios," etc. The Preface by Professor E. Adler, and Contributions by Dr. William Dörpfeld. With 188 wood-cuts, 24 plates in chromo-lithography, 1 map and 4 plans. 8vo, pp. lxiv., 385. 1885. \$10.00; — The Silent South. Together with The Freedman's Case in Equity and The Convict Lease System. By George W. Cable. With portrait. 12mo, pp. i., 180. 1885. \$1.00; — Afternoon Songs. By Julia C. R. Dorr. 12mo, pp. ix., 184. 1885. \$1.50.

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PROSPECTUS FOR A MONTHLY PUBLICATION IN 1886.

On the 1st of January, 1886, the NEW ENGLANDER will enter on its forty-fourth year. Important changes will be made in the Review, which the proprietor takes this occasion to announce. It will appear hereafter once a month instead of once in two months as at present. In connection with this change, a renewed effort will be made to impart an increased timeliness and freshness to its contents. In addition to the discussion of topics pertaining to Theology and Politics, Literature and Science, which has always been the function of the NEW ENGLANDER, special attention will be given to college government and college education, and, in particular, to questions in relation to Yale College which are of marked interest at present to its graduates. With regard to the tone and character of the articles to be furnished on these various subjects, the NEW ENGLANDER will adhere to the established rule of independent, non-partisan utterance, which is expressed in its motto. The spirit which was stamped upon this Review by Bacon, Thompson, Bushnell, Dutton, and others who have passed away, and by Woolsey and his associates among the living, will continue to characterize it. While we have no "new departure" to proclaim in theology, we shall hereafter, as in the past, defend the essentials of the evangelical faith, at the same time that we faithfully uphold the rights of private judgment and scholarly investigation. New books of importance will be promptly reviewed. Among the special contributors on whose aid the editor is permitted to count are President Porter, Professors Harris, Fisher, Dwight, Brastow, Russell, Ladd, Peck, Weir, Lounsbury, Wright, and Seymour, besides other writers, both laymen and clergymen, from whom contributions are expected.

The NEW ENGLANDER for 1886 will be published, as heretofore, in New Haven, Connecticut. Price, Three Dollars per annum. Single numbers, 30 cents.

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The Presbyterian Review for 1886.

MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS beg to announce that they have become the publishers of THE PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, which will remain under the editorial management of the Presbyterian Review Association. In January it will enter upon its seventh year.

During the coming year the REVIEW will be made better and stronger than ever before, and no expense or pains will be spared to make it the most thoroughly satisfactory theological and literary Review of its kind in America.

Among the features of the January number, which will be in the hands of subscribers promptly on the first of the year, are the following articles:—

Prof. WITHEROW, of Londonderry, Ireland, on the *Christian Ministry*.

Dr. EDSON, of Indianapolis, on *John Todd, a Home Missionary Sketch*.

Prof. KNOX, of Tokio, Japan, on the *Missionary Problem in Japan*.

Dr. HENRY J. VAN DYKE, of Brooklyn, on *Ordination to the Christian Ministry*.

Prof. FRANCIS L. PATTON, of Princeton, on *The Metaphysics of Moral Obligation*.

Principal CAVEN, of Toronto, on the *Revised Version as a Whole*.

Critical Notes by Rev. D. D. BANNERMAN, of Perth, Scotland; Prof. FRANCIS BROWN, of New York, and others.

Editorial Notes by the Editors.

Book Reviews by A. A. HODGE, C. W. HODGE, F. L. PATTON, W. H. GREEN, T. W.

HUNT, C. A. AIKEN, of Princeton; F. BROWN, G. L. PRENTISS, T. S. HASTINGS,

W. G. T. SHEDD, C. A. BRIGGS, of Union Sem.; E. D. MORRIS, JOHN DEWITT, of Lane Sem.; HERRICK JOHNSON, of Chicago; B. B. WARFIELD, of Allegheny;

R. B. WELCH, of Auburn; HOWARD OSGOOD, of Rochester; H. M. BAIRD, T.

W. CHAMBERS, MARVIN R. VINCENT, of New York; Principal McVICAR and

Prof. CAMPBELL, of Canada; Prof. CROSKERY, of Ireland; and Prof. W. G.

BLAIKIE, of Scotland.

The Programme for 1886 includes the following papers:—

DONALD FRASER, of London, on the *Salvation Army*.

W. H. GREEN, of Princeton, *Defense of the Revised Version of the Old Testament*.

ROBERT FLINT, of Edinburgh, *Criticism of Modern Classifications of the Sciences*.

Principal McVICAR, of Montreal, on *Romanism in Canada*.

President R. D. HITCHCOCK, of New York, on *Socialism*.

Prof. FRANCIS BROWN, of New York, on the *Hittites*.

Dr. CRAVEN, of Newark, on the *Revision of the Presbyterian Form of Government*.

Prof. CHARTERIS on *Woman's Work in the Church*.

Dr. J. P. WILSON, on *Lay Preaching*.

Also articles may be expected from Prof. A. A. HODGE, Prof. E. D. MORRIS, Prof. HERRICK JOHNSON, and others.

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